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CONTENTS

23 May 1989

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Pact Military Council Opens Berlin Session [ADN]	1
CSCE Members Observe Soviet-GDR Exercise [ADN]	1
Medgyessy Comments on CEMA Committee Talks [MTI]	1
Socialist Environmental Associations Meeting [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 May]	2

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Multiparty Conference Held in Budapest [MTI]	3
Grosz Welcomes Guests [NEPSZABADSAG 13 May]	3

ALBANIA

NATO Missile Modernization Plans Deployed [Kondi in BASHKIMI 17 May]	5
Malile, DPRK Counterpart Exchange Messages [ATA]	5
Qirjako Mihali Awarded Flag Order on Birthday [Tirana Radio]	6
Health Minister Kamberi Speaks at WHO Assembly [BASHKIMI 12 May]	6
Professor Lectures on Balkan Policy in Bonn [ATA]	6
Friendship Society Formed With Bulgaria [Tirana Radio]	7
Economic Progress Report for 7-13 May [Tirana Radio]	7
Report for 14-20 May [Tirana Radio]	7
Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 May [Tirana Radio]	7

BULGARIA

State Council Meets, Adopts Decree on Land Use [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 May]	8
Premier Atanasov Departs for Algeria 23 May [Sofia Radio]	8
Relations With Algeria Assessed [BTA]	8
Nicaraguan Internal Affairs Minister Visits	9
Atanasov Receives Tomas Borge [BTA]	9
Borge Holds News Conference [BTA]	9
Turks Demonstrate Against 'Forced Bulgarization'	9
Protest With Hunger Strike [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 20 May]	9
AFP Reports Protesters Killed	10
Trade Union Delegation Returns From Lisbon [Sofia Radio]	10
Editorial Assesses Gorbachev Visit to PRC [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 May]	10
Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-19 May	11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1st Group of Soviet Tanks Leaves 23 May [Prague Radio]	12
Editorial Comments on Gorbachev Visit to PRC [RUDE PRAVO 20 May]	12
Johanes Meets Soviet Foreign Ministry Official [Prague Radio]	13
Culture, Science Protocol Signed With USSR [Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May]	13
Paper Terms VOA Report on Yevtushenko 'Slander' [RUDE PRAVO 19 May]	13
Hungary's Miklos Nemeth To Visit 24 May [RUDE PRAVO 20 May]	14
Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu's Visit Reviewed	14
Talks With Jakes Noted [RUDE PRAVO 18 May]	14
Visit Aids Cooperation [Macha in RUDE PRAVO 19 May]	16
Government 'Standpoint' [RUDE PRAVO 20 May]	17
Paper Interviews Vaclav Havel After Release [Vienna PROFIL 22 May]	17
Dissident Hunger Striker Devaty Released [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 23 May]	19

Leaders Greet Newly Elected SFRY Counterparts [RUDE PRAVO 19 May]	19
Ratification Papers Exchanged With DPRK [RUDE PRAVO 17 May]	19
Housing Joint Venture Founded With Austria [RUDE PRAVO 17 May]	19
Leaders' Appearances for 11-17 May	20

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Poland's Jaruzelski Visits, Holds Official Talks	22
Officials at Talks Named [ADN]	22
State Agreements Signed [ADN]	22
Cultural Agreement Signed [ADN]	23
Joint Statement on Visit [ADN]	23
Cultural Declaration Reported [ADN]	25
'Text' of Border Treaty [ADN]	26
Jaruzelski Completes Visit [ADN]	27
Editorial Terms PRC-USSR Summit as 'Historic' [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20-21 May]	27
FRG's Rau Stresses Need for Contacts [Hamburg DPA]	28
High Abstention in 7 May Elections Noted [Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 22 May]	28
DKP, SED Establish Disarmament Working Group [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 May]	28
Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 May [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]	28

HUNGARY

Janos Berecz Interviewed on Political Career [Budapest Radio]	30
Imre Pozsgay Assesses Reforms, Kadar, System [Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG 21 May]	32
Views New Constitution [Vienna PROFIL 22 May]	33
Committee on Show Trials Holds 1st Session [MTI]	35
Nagy, Associates 'Victims' [MTI]	35
Szuos Explains Views [Budapest Radio]	36
Horn Comments on Nagy Trial [MTI]	36
Nemeth on Bush Visit, Nagymaros Dam, Economy [MTI]	37
Nemeth Visit to Prague Planned for 24 May [MTI]	37
Trade Union Delegation To Accept Walesa Invitation [MTI]	37
Foreign Minister Horn Leaves for SFRY 23 May [MTI]	37
Pozsgay President of New Government Body [MTI]	38
MSZMP Political Committee Session 16 May [MTI]	38
Grosz Inspects Dismantling of Border Alarm System [MTI]	38
Cypriot President Vasilou Begins Visit 21 May [MTI]	39
Talks With Horn [MTI]	39
Private Talks With Straub [MTI]	39
Assembly Speaker Szuos Leaves for Morocco [MTI]	39
Meets King Hassan II [MTI]	39
Vastagh Meets Italian Mayor, Businessmen [MTI]	39
Attends Party Congress [MTI]	40
Straub Congratulates SFRY Counterpart 15 May [MTI]	40
Bilateral Industrial Pact Signed With Israel [Jerusalem Radio]	40
National Peace Council Planning 1 Jul Forum [Budapest Radio]	40
New Commercial Radio Station Launched [MTI]	40

POLAND

Further on Krakow Anti-Soviet Demonstrations	41
Church Official Thanked [Warsaw Radio]	41
Press Details Incidents [TRYBUNA LUDU 18 May]	41
Demonstrations 'Shame' Poland [TRYBUNA LUDU 17 May]	41
'Indignation' Over Protests [TRYBUNA LUDU 18 May]	42
Commentary Views Solidarity Election Platform [Rzadca in TRYBUNA LUDU 18 May]	43
Solidarity's Receipt of FRG Funds Questioned [PAP]	44
PAP Previews Jaruzelski Visit to GDR	44
Jaruzelski Chairs Defense Committee Meeting [PAP]	45
Pomeranian Bay Dispute Settled With GDR [PAP]	45

Czyrek Discusses Washington Visit, Talks	[TRYBUNA LUDU 19 May]	46
Polish-American Economic Council Meets	[TRYBUNA LUDU 20-21 May]	47
UK's Howell, Malinowski Discuss Cooperation	[TRYBUNA LUDU 16 May]	48
Orzechowski Cited on Polish Path to Socialism	[GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA 28 Apr-1 May]	48

ROMANIA

Executive Committee Examines Economic Matters	[AGERPRES]	50
Foreign Ministry Conveys Pact Appeal to NATO	[AGERPRES]	50
Public Groups Appeal to NATO Counterparts	[AGERPRES]	51
Ceausescu Welcomes USSR-PRC Normalization	[AGERPRES]	51
Defense Minister Meets Nigerian President	[AGERPRES]	51
Stoian Receives Bulgarian Party Delegation	[AGERPRES]	52
Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 May		52

YUGOSLAVIA

New President Interviewed on Internal Crises	[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 22 May]	53
SFRY To Initiate Nonaligned Movement Changes	[TANJUG]	56
LCY Delegation Discusses Reforms in Algeria	[TANJUG]	56
Kadijevic Receives Reserve Military Officers	[TANJUG]	57
Military Veterans Meet, Reject Report on Army	[TANJUG]	57
Firm Awarded Contract With Soviet Enterprise	[TANJUG]	57
Zejnulahu Addresses Pristina Leaders, Officials	[TANJUG]	58
Emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins Continues	[TANJUG]	58
Montenegrin Internal Affairs Officials Dismissed	[TANJUG]	59
Smole Criticizes Slovene Separatist Tendencies	[TANJUG]	59
Slovene Assembly on Inter-Nationality Hostility	[TANJUG]	59
Radio Questions Party Integrity, Survivability	[Belgrade Radio]	60

Pact Military Council Opens Berlin Session

*LD2205162189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1433 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A regular session of the Military Council of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces opened today in the GDR Ministry of National Defense.

The members of the Military Council from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the People's Republic of Poland, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR, as well as the chief of the staff of the Joint Armed Forces, Army General Vladimir Lobov, are participating.

The meeting is headed by Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces.

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, warmly welcomed the generals admirals, and officers from the fraternal armies on behalf of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council.

In his remarks, the GDR defense minister acknowledged the multifarious and far-reaching disarmament initiatives made by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states as an expression of the determination to continue the process of disarmament and detente without interruption. In opposition to this, certain influential forces from the United States and NATO were striving to move those states belonging to the North Atlantic alliance toward a continuation of the arms race, disastrous for all peoples, in a nuclear as well as a conventional sphere.

Therefore, it is in accordance with its security interests for the socialist community of states, and for the future, to develop a high level of political and military vigilance and unanimity in accordance with its military doctrine.

Army General Heinz Kessler expressed the certainty that the Military Council session will make a contribution toward the further implementation of the Warsaw Pact states' defense doctrine. Valuable impetus for the political, combat, and operational training of the commanders, staff, troops, and naval forces will emanate from it in order to resolve the joint tasks for the more secure protection of peace and the socialist achievements with an even higher degree of effectiveness. The GDR National People's Army will also continue to be a reliable coalition partner at the side of the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies.

The commander in chief and the members of the Military Council of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces laid wreaths with military ceremony at the Unter den Linden monument for the victims of fascism and militarism and at the memorial to the fallen heroes of the Soviet Army in Berlin-Treptow.

CSCE Members Observe Soviet-GDR Exercise

*LD1905203789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1318 GMT 19 May 89*

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—Forty observers from 20 CSCE signatory states, who have been in the GDR since Tuesday [16 May], observed the joint troop exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army [NVA] of the GDR today. The generals, officers, and diplomats were informed about the situation and progress of the defense actions.

In close association with air force units, anti-aircraft missile troops, and other military experts, the guardsmen of the tank regiment under Colonel Valentin Lesnov proved their efficiency.

The commander of the exercise, Major General Stanislav Rummyantsev, commanding officer of an army in the GSFG, told ADN that in the past few days the participants had acted with dedication and military skill. True to the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states, on which the training is based, the capacity for joint defense was further perfected.

The same day, further units and troop formations from the exercise region of Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Brandenburg, Neustrelitz, and Pritzwalk returned to their garrisons after successfully fulfilling their mission. The foreign guests were able to observe the overland march and rail transport.

During the course of the day the number of army personnel in the exercise region thus fell below 17,000 men. The observer activity of the foreign representatives thus ended, in line with the Stockholm document on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. In the name of the GDR Government and on behalf of the defense minister, Army General Heinz Kessler, the observers were given a cordial send off this evening by Major General Rudolf Magnitzke, deputy chief of the NVA Main Staff. He stated they had had many chances to convince themselves that the Stockholm document was adhered to by the GDR. It has become clear to the observers from the talks that the members of the forces involved wish for a peaceful future and harbor no hatred for other peoples, he said.

Medgyessy Comments on CEMA Committee Talks

*LD1705124189 Budapest MTI in English
1126 GMT 17 May 89*

[Text] Budapest, May 17, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—“We have managed to approach the Soviet and Hungarian positions at our talks,” said Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy in a press statement at Budapest airport today.

Mr Medgyessy attended in Moscow a session of the Comecon [CEMA] Executive Committee.

In fact Mr Medgyessy returned to Budapest before the session ended, in order to attend discussions between the Central Council of Trade Unions and the government.

The deputy premier and Soviet partners addressed the issue of introducing hard currency accounting in bilateral trade, difficulties in Hungarian-Soviet trade, and Soviet participation in the construction of the Budapest underground and in the development of the copper mine at Recsk.

Mr Medgyessy said the talks with Soviet Government officials gave him the impression that the Soviet Union would be willing to introduce hard currency accounting in bilateral trade.

It needs, however, thorough consideration on what system is to be introduced. Hungary is aware that the switch-over will temporarily involve considerable additional burdens for the country. The Hungarian party therefore requested the Soviet side to assist with the overcoming of initial difficulties, Mr Medgyessy said.

Convertible accounting is expected to earn extra income for the Soviet Union, part of which it could use to grant Hungary loans and assistance.

"Nothing definite was promised in this line which is rather understandable considering that the issue is a serious one with plenty of political implications which needs to be thoroughly studied by the Soviet party, as well. They did not, however, refuse to comply with our request," Mr Medgyessy stressed.

Both Hungary and the Soviet Union are interested in having their trade bills settled in hard currency. The Soviet Union stands to gain by the move in the short run, but it is also vitally important for Hungary from the point of speeding up the restructuring of the economy and taking more advantage of the huge Soviet market. It is not short-term but rather medium- and long-term interests which the Hungarian Government has to consider when taking a decision in this matter.

The talks held now hold out a realistic hope that the two countries can start settling accounts in hard currency as early as 1991, with some elements to be introduced in 1990.

There was a greater than anticipated Hungarian surplus in bilateral trade in the first quarter of the current year, Mr Medgyessy said, whereas the state of the national economy could afford an export growth that tallies with the increase of imports in socialist trade. Import expansion is, therefore, instrumental.

Speaking of the Comecon Executive Committee session, Mr Medgyessy said they were supposed to address, in total, some 26 issues, too many, if you want to achieve anything appreciable. If there are too many topics, the participants will not be able to discuss them all in the same depth. It is primarily at the caucuses of permanent Comecon representatives, deputy prime ministers, that specific subjects can be discussed in depth. Therefore, more such meetings would be required.

Mr Medgyessy is to take the post of chairman of the Executive Committee at the next session of the Comecon body in Sofia at the end of June.

Socialist Environmental Associations Meeting
AU1805135389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 17 May 89 p 3

[Text] Neubrandenburg (ND)—At a meeting in Neubrandenburg where the Third Multilateral Meeting of organizations for the protection of nature and the environment of socialist countries opened on Tuesday [17 May], Harald Thomasius, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Society for Nature and Environment (GNU) of the GDR Cultural League, stressed the increasing readiness of young people in the GDR to participate in the solution of environmental problems. A discussion devoted to the topic "youth and the environment" was attended by representatives from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the DPRK, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Hungary.

Harald Thomasius described the ecological days and the conferences on the preservation of natural resources as the most important form of democratic participation in the GDR. In addition to that, the members of the Cultural League have seats and votes in the people's representative bodies, he pointed out. During the discussion, the participants in the multilateral meeting advocated closer cooperation and an increased exchange of information and of tourist groups that should mainly consist of natural scientists. The Fourth Central GNU Youth Camp for the protection of nature and the environment is being held at the same time in Feldberg in Neubrandenburg Bezirk.

Multiparty Conference Held in Budapest
LD1305220289 Budapest MTI in English
2009 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 13 (MTI)—The future of Europe was the central theme of the international many-party roundtable organized by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] in Budapest for representatives of 26 parties from Europe and North America.

During a Saturday press conference on the work of the conference, Geza Kotai, head of department at the HSWP Central Committee, said that several participants called for holding further such meetings with delegates of further European and North American parties.

In the view of the HSWP, the dialogue should extend to all questions of concern to European cooperation and the future of the continent, including European security, arms limitation and disarmament, economic and political relations and environmental protection. Hungary attaches great importance to the human rights situation, humanitarian cooperation, cultural ties and the free flow of people and ideas, Mr Kotai said.

Asked by the correspondent of L'UNITA whether the rumour that an FRG war industrial concern supplies Romania with missile technology was mentioned at the conference, Mr Kotai said that the information still has to be verified, as Romania also signed the non-proliferation treaty. He added that should Romania be gaining access to nuclear weapons and devices, Hungary and the other 33 parties would have to draw certain conclusions.

In connection with village razing in Romania, Mr Kotai pointed out that the issue came up only in so far as the individual and collective minority rights have to be guaranteed and whether the community of European peoples can allow a unique cultural heritage to be destroyed.

The representative of the British Labour Party stated that although no country can claim itself perfect in handling human rights, the way Transylvanian Hungarians are treated in Romania is an obvious example of human rights violation. Summing up the Soviet stand on the question, the delegate of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union termed the affair as a conflict between two allied states. He added that the Soviet Union condemns the non-observance of human rights wherever it occurs. He confirmed the view of Mr Kotai that it is unfair to discuss the policy of a party which is not represented at the meeting.

It was stated at the press conference that the agenda of the closed-door session also included the question of neutrality. Several delegations agreed that at the present stage of history no country's becoming neutral would serve the cause of East-West relations. In a longer perspective, however, the possibility cannot be ruled out as it promotes the strengthening of cooperation between blocs. The Hungarian party to the conference pointed

out that their commitment to the Warsaw Treaty remains unchanged. They stated that, due to Gorbachev's policy, the country's alliance affiliation does not hinder its internal development and independent foreign policy activity.

The delegate of the Austrian People's Party announced the agreement of the Christian Democratic and Centrist Parties to meet in Budapest from June 19-21 and said they hope to hold discussions also with Hungarian reformers and the representatives of the new organizations.

Grosz Welcomes Guests
AU2205144889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 13 May 89 pp 1, 3

[Correspondents' report on MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz' meeting with participants of the international roundtable conference on the future of Europe, in Budapest on 12 May: "The Future of Europe Is Open Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] "Universal human values, rather than ideological systems, should determine the future of Europe. Openness is the essence of all this, and Socialist Hungary is confidently present in the cooperation in Europe," Karoly Grosz pointed out at the reception given for the participants in the international roundtable conference. The conference continued its work behind closed doors on 12 May. However, it is no secret that the representatives of various parliamentary parties in Europe are making good use of the opportunities provided by this first informal discussion: They are reviewing the major issues of our continent in an open and constructive atmosphere free of confrontations.

On 12 May, Karoly Grosz gave a reception in honor of the guests. In his toast, Karoly Grosz pointed out the following:

"The very fact that responsible political figures in parliamentary parties in Europe and North America gathered for an informal exchange of views is unique in the history of politics so far. This conference has started a new and important process, and the cooperation between various parties could also have a favorable influence on strengthening interstate relations and could strengthen our confidence in each other.

"You well know that a long road led to this conference. We needed 4 decades to forget mutual hostility and to have a rational and calm exchange of views. While on this road, all of us have gotten rid of many prejudices and ideological habits. I will not be wrong if I say that, in the course of past decades, the parties that are represented here understood the important truth of our era: Mankind is bound by fundamental and common interests. Overall human interests, rather than ideologies and ideological systems, should determine our cooperation. We will not give up our concepts and values, nor do we ask others to do the same. At the same time, we are aware

that every concept is only worth the extent it contributes to the prosperity of man and peoples. I am convinced that only openness can be the future of Europe. It is the task of the current generations to create such an openness. We should start from realities and we should seek cooperation instead of confrontation, and mutual prosperity instead of unilateral advantages. In this way, Europe can become more stable and more balanced, and only in this way can we eliminate the division of Europe.

"Irrespective of our party affiliation and our ideology, we Hungarians regard as the major task seeing to it that the peoples of the world and of Europe are never again threatened by war, and that our children and grandchildren will never know the sufferings brought by war.

"We are convinced that appreciation of man and respect for human rights are essential for the peoples' prosperity. No country can be exempt from this.

"We believe equal rights of nations and respect for and appreciation of each other are fundamental requirements of international cooperation. We are starting from the Helsinki principles in our relations with all the countries. We also observe these principles, and we demand the same from others.

"You have come to Hungary at a time when changes are under way here which will determine the fate of our nation. We want a better and more efficient society than this one, and we want to give more and better things to the people. The changes in the Hungarian society bring us close to Europe and to the vanguard of economic and technical-scientific progress. For this to succeed, we must halt the deterioration in the economic situation and make political relations predictable. Only in this way can we overcome the people's lack of confidence and their fear of the future. Only in this way can we convince our 10 million fellow countrymen that we are able to renew our homeland, our party, and ourselves.

"The Hungarian people initiated this Hungarian renewal, and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] formulated the ideas of political and economic reforms into a program. We want a humane and democratic socialist society, being aware that socialism is not a historical deadlock but a concept that serves the people if it is implemented in a modern way and in accordance with national particularities. We are convinced that the Hungarian people will find prosperity on this road. We believe that this road which we chose voluntarily will not separate us from Europe but will make our presence in the European processes more assured," Karoly Grosz said, among other things.

At the reception, Karoly Grosz held informal discussions with several of his guests which took place in a good atmosphere. As reported by Gyula Thurmer, the foreign

policy adviser of the general secretary, all the guests spoke with considerable appreciation about the MSZMP initiative that shows political courage and ingenuity. They said that they had found the exchange of views useful, and they would be partners in a possible continuation.

Several people spoke with appreciation about the fact that they could also meet with the representatives of the various new parties currently being formed and with the representatives of the new political organizations, and they asked Karoly Grosz whether the MSZMP was really serious about the multiparty system. Karoly Grosz said that many people were formulating this question at home, too. The MSZMP has only one answer to all of them: It regards the multiparty system and the cooperation with the newly established parties as a strategy, but the readiness for cooperation will be determined primarily by practice and coexistence during the coming years, rather than by words alone. Karoly Grosz pointed out that the survival of the nation and of the homeland requires the cooperation of parties and the various social and political forces. One of the participants wanted to know whether the political effervescence they had experienced in Hungary was real. Karoly Grosz said that the need for renewal covered the entire society, although it is a fact that the political movements and debates are active primarily among the intellectuals. This has a lot of positive aspects and the MSZMP highly appreciates the fact that the intellectuals have become so active. At the same time, one can also notice certain negative aspects because people inevitably listen to opinions that are just surfacing now, too. The MSZMP is of the opinion that the party should pay particular attention to the opinions of the masses of workers, peasants, and working intellectuals. Therefore, Karoly Grosz is planning several meetings with the representatives of the working class and the peasants in the near future.

In answering a question about the future of the workers militia, Karoly Grosz reminded his guests about the latest position of the Central Committee and said that the party intended to preserve a workers militia with modern functions and in a modern management system. Karoly Grosz pointed out that there were voluntary defense organizations in many other countries, and one of the main values of the workers militia is this collective spirit, something we need so much in our life today.

In discussions with the representative of the Yugoslav Communists, Karoly Grosz declared that we should make better use of the fact that the two countries share a common 500-km border. More high-level meetings and multilateral political, economic, and cultural cooperation are needed. Karoly Grosz welcomed the fact that the political contacts between the two armies were also developing. Obviously, Hungarian-Yugoslav cooperation is adjusting extremely well into the all-European processes. [passage omitted]

NATO Missile Modernization Plans Deployed

AU2205164489 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
17 May 89 p 4

[Genc Kondi article: "Europe Haunted by a Fresh Missile Specter"]

[Excerpts] The problem of the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles stationed in the western part of the old continent, which has recently been set before NATO, is at the center of attention of the international public, especially in Europe. [passage omitted]

Political Friction in the Alliance

The problem can in no way be regarded as purely military. It relates to specific policies of the various NATO governments, especially within the context of their relations with the East. These governments must also consider the protests aroused by the "Euromissile" program at the start of the decade. The FRG, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, and Norway have openly expressed their opposition to this project. They seek a postponement of any decision until 1992, or the start of a process of Soviet-American talks aimed at including the elimination of missiles with a range of less than 500 km within the treaty for the elimination of intermediate-range missiles from Europe, signed in Washington last year.

In this context, James Baker, the new United States secretary of state, made his first visit abroad with the mission of persuading the unconverted to accept the American plan. Washington called Baker's tour of the continent a "tough visit" and accused the Germans in particular of "a Teutonic sense of insecurity." France is in favor of a compromise: Let the Americans start producing their new missiles, and let the question of their deployment be decided later. As always, not only is London an ardent supporter of the American plan, but Thatcher is setting off on her own travels, in the role of Washington's special emissary, in order to persuade her European colleagues.

This problem has changed from being a simple matter to a key issue of NATO unity. Two possible things may happen at the forthcoming meeting at the end of May: Either the decision to modernize the missiles will be made, disregarding the friction, or a deadline will be fixed for attempting to reach an understanding with NATO's Eastern rivals. The general feeling is that the solution will be a compromise decision which will satisfy the Americans to a certain extent. "The disagreements in NATO are not as serious as it is claimed," wrote THE TIMES on 21 January. Meanwhile, the Pentagon has won approval for the expenditure of \$33 million on the production of the first new missiles. However, even though Washington has not embarked on any discussion of NATO unity, it fears that its leadership will be jeopardized by the efforts of the Western Europeans to establish themselves as a second center of the alliance.

This fear has been increased by the progress in the integration of the EEC, and cannot be assuaged by Thatcher's statements to the BBC that "It is NATO and not Europe (the EEC—our note) that is our strongest defense."

American-Soviet Flirtation and Europe's (In)security

George Kennan, the most prominent American Sovietologist, remarked last year that the "cold war" had come to an end with the great changes that have occurred in the Soviet Union. Of course, if it is a matter of Soviet-American relations and the struggle between two opposing social systems, this struggle ended 3 decades ago. However, the United States considers Moscow a rival within the context of interimperialist contradictions. The British Ministry of Defense, cited by REUTERS (3 May 1989), believes that "The Soviet Union remains a military threat to the West." "There has been no significant change in Soviet military capability," commented Tower, the temporary United States defense secretary. For his part, the Soviet general Batenin wrote in the magazine NOVOYE VREMYA in January that "The origin of World War III is in Europe." Bush stresses that "The security of the United States and its allies should not rest on hopes, but should rely on facts," and that "Only strengthening NATO will enable the NATO allies to achieve their policy goals." Under these conditions, it appears that the process of detente between Washington and Moscow is not solving, just as it never has solved, the acute problems of international relations. From the military point of view, Europe's security is increasingly under threat. Both long-range missiles, the most dangerous weapons in the superpowers' arsenal, and short-range missiles are being further modernized. Intermediate-range missiles are being modified: According to the magazine JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY in December 1988, 140 land-based cruise missiles have been modified and are now carried by ships, where they are not "covered" by the quotas of the Washington treaty. Conventional weapons are being increased and perfected. All these things give rise to an extremely difficult situation, with new dangers to peace.

Malile, DPRK Counterpart Exchange Messages

AU1805121689 Tirana ATA in English
0928 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 18 (ATA)—On occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the foreign ministers of the two countries exchanged messages of greetings.

In his message, the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, expressing his satisfaction over the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, wishes to the Korean people successes

in their work for the prosperity of the country and the realization of the legitimate aspirations, for the independent unification of the country.

In his message, the minister of the foreign affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Yong-nam, after hailing the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, stresses that in the future, too, the friendly relations and cooperation between Korea and Albania will be developed and expanded in all the fields.

On this occasion, the ambassador of DPR of Korea to the PSR of Albania Pak Yong-si, gave on May 17 in the evening a reception at the Embassy seat. The reception was attended by the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Qirjako Mihali Awarded Flag Order on Birthday
AU1305190289

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 13 May carries a 3-minute report on the award of the Order of the Flag to Qirjako Mihali, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee Politburo candidate member, on his 60th birthday. The report states that a ceremony was held to award the order on 13 May in Tirana, and was attended by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary; Adil Carcani, Hekuran Isai, and Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member; Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member; and other leaders. The report states that Rita Marko spoke at the award ceremony, and praised Mihali's readiness "to put the interests of the people and the homeland before everything," and his "dedication and party-minded spirit." The report states that Ramiz Alia presented the award to Mihali, who expressed his thanks and "promised to remain eternally loyal to the party line."

Health Minister Kamberi Speaks at WHO Assembly
AU1705090889 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 12 May 89 p 4

[ATA report: "The Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Protects the Health of the People, and Sees Health as an Issue Concerning Every Individual, Every Family, and the Whole of Society"]

[Excerpts] Ahmet Kamberi, minister of health, spoke at yesterday's meeting of the 42d WHO Assembly in Geneva, and said among other things:

The Albanian delegation does not underestimate the different factors that have helped the effective development of health services in many countries. However, it believes that the unsatisfactory level of health and the high rates of disease and death in many parts of the

world are the result of the continued polarization of society, the poverty of many areas, oppression, and exploitation. This cannot be viewed in isolation from neocolonialist policies, hotbeds of wars and conflicts, the continuing armaments race, and galloping debts, all of which are primarily instigated by the superpowers. These factors remain serious obstacles preventing WHO from realizing the aspirations and objectives of its strategy of "Health for All by the Year 2000."

Our country, Comrade Ahmet Kamberi continued, in which the care for people's health is a primary mission for the state, has been able, by relying on its own resources, to create and develop a productive health system to serve all its people. [passage omitted]

This has been and remains the essence of our strategy to protect and strengthen the people's health, a policy which, as we stressed earlier, is in line with the WHO strategy of "Health for All by the Year 2000." This policy has been the key to our results and achievements up till now. Thus, the life expectancy of our people at birth rose from 68 years in 1971 to 72 years in 1988; general mortality fell from 585 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1980 to 540 in 1988. Infant mortality fell from 50.3 per 1,000 births in 1980 to 25.2 in 1988, and every effort is being made to reduce it to below 20 before the end of 1991. Mortality from infectious diseases fell from 28 per 100,000 in 1981 to 12 in 1988. The general prevalence of disease has also gradually fallen. This is evident from the number of cases of heart and circulatory diseases, which has fallen from 9,200 per 100,000 in 1980 to 8,600. [passage omitted]

Professor Lectures on Balkan Policy in Bonn
AU1905130789 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 19 (ATA)—Invited as a guest of the Federal Government for an information visit to the FR [Federal Republic] of Germany, Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the International Relations Study Institute, delivered a lecture in the hall of the Research Institute of the German Foreign Affairs Policy Association on May 17, under the topic: "The Actual Situation in the Balkans and the Perspectives of the Cooperation in This Zone." Attending were representatives of the Federal Foreign Affairs Ministry, of that of the economy and economic cooperation, scientific collaborators of the Institute, and association members, press representatives, specialists, and scholars of European and Balkan questions from different institutions of the country.

The meeting was presided over by Prof Dr Karl Kaiser, director of the Institute who in his opening speech pointed out the interest of a large number of people in the FR of Germany regarding the foreign policy of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and its international activity. After the lecture, many questions were made and a wide discussion took place on the problems raised there.

Friendship Society Formed With Bulgaria

*AU2105183689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 21 May 89*

[Text] The Bulgarian-Albanian Friendship Society has been formed in Sofia. Ivan Drenov was elected chairman of the society. Bashkim Rama, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, attended a ceremony organized on this occasion.

Economic Progress Report for 7-13 May

AU1305183389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 7-13 May carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Berat District: The overall industrial plan for the period up to 5 May was fulfilled by 100 percent. (1800 GMT 8 May) The industrial plan up to 10 May was overfulfilled by 2.5 million leks. (1800 GMT 11 May 89)

Elbasan District: The "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine exceeded its plan by 7 million leks. (1800 GMT 9 May 89)

Librazhd District: The general industrial plan up to 10 May was exceeded by 4.5 million leks. (1330 GMT 12 May 89)

Pogradec District: The industrial production plan up to 5 May was overfulfilled by 6.7 million leks. (1800 GMT 9 May 89)

Puke District: The industrial production plan was exceeded by 2 percent. (1800 GMT 11 May 89)

Sarande District: The industrial production plan up to 10 May was overfulfilled by 6 million leks. (1800 GMT 11 May 89)

Shkoder District: The general industrial plan for the 4-month period was exceeded by 1.5 million leks; exports were exceeded by 11 million leks. (1800 GMT 8 May 89)

Report for 14-20 May

AU2005205389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 14-20 May carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Elbasan District: The food industry has exceeded its plan hitherto by 6 million leks. (1800 GMT 19 May)

Fier District: The export plan was overfulfilled by 7 million leks. (1800 GMT 18 May 89)

Kukes District: The industrial production plan up to 15 May was overfulfilled by 2 percent. (1800 GMT 18 May 89)

Librazhd District: The industrial production plan up to 15 May was exceeded by 4.5 million leks. (1800 GMT 18 May 89)

Tepelene District: The overall industrial production plan up to 10 May was fulfilled by 102 percent. (1800 GMT 15 May 89)

Tropoje District: The overall industrial production plan up to 15 May was fulfilled by 104 percent. (1800 GMT 17 May 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 May

AU2005145889

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 13-19 May reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hekuran Isai, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary; Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member, attended on 13 May a ceremony at which Qirjako Mihali, AWP CC Politburo candidate member was awarded the Order of the Flag. (1800 GMT 13 May 89)

Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, chaired a meeting of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, which examined measures to ensure the successful completion of the harvesting campaign. (1800 GMT 15 May 89)

Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate member, attended the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the 12th Assault Brigade in the village of Suke, Permet District, on 14 May. (1800 GMT 14 May 89)

Hekuran Isai, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, attended a meeting of AWP committee secretaries from southern districts in Tepelene on 17 May to examine advanced experience in the supply of the peasantry with livestock products and vegetables from the brigade-level herds and plots. (1800 GMT 17 May 89) Isai also attended a national aktiv of construction specialists in Elbasan on 18 May, which discussed ways of advancing construction schedules of major projects. (1800 GMT 18 May 89)

State Council Meets, Adopts Decree on Land Use
AU2205135889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 20 May 89 p 1

[BTA report: "Company-Based Organization in Agriculture"]

[Text] On 19 May Comrade Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, chaired a meeting of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The participants reviewed the draft decree on the use of land and the organization of agricultural activity submitted by the Council of Ministers.

During the debate it was pointed out that the basic premises of the document create the necessary legal-normative conditions for implementing the decisions of the May Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on further restructuring agriculture in accordance with the July Concept.

The decree solves the basic issues of implementing agrarian activity on the principles of the company-based organization and under the specific conditions of the branch, and guarantees the unity and integrity of socialist property in the diversity of forms of its management.

The collective agricultural farm will be the basic form of organizing agrarian activity. The agricultural farms will be established as voluntary, self-enterprising, and self-managing organizations of agricultural workers. Family and individual agricultural farms can be established along with collective ones. All companies, regardless of the basic subject of their activity, may engage in agricultural activity.

A legal-normative foundation for the functioning of the agricultural farms has been created. Piecework, leasing, and other forms of land use may be implemented in accordance with the specific requirements of production. Equal economic and legal possibilities for carrying out their activity are guaranteed to all farms.

The decree ensures agricultural producers extensive opportunities for establishing associations on the basis of mutual interest and common tasks related to producing, processing, and marketing agricultural production, creating agricultural commodity-exchanges, and jointly acquiring and using machines in the areas of land improvement, marketing, and supply.

The state and its organs will exclusively use economic means in influencing the development of production. Municipal commissions and a central commission will be established. They will be in charge of land regulation. The municipal commissions will be vested with wide-ranging rights in everything related to the efficient use of land, according to the needs of the respective territory, and the nature of its land and pastures.

Proposals on improving the draft were made during the debate.

Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, read a concluding speech.

The decree was unanimously adopted by the State Council, and it will be published shortly.

In addition to the State Council members, the meeting was attended by Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Vasil Tsanov, and Georgi Menov, minister of agriculture and forestry.

Premier Atanasov Departs for Algeria 23 May
AU2305092489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
0900 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] On 23 May Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed on an official and friendly visit to Algeria at the invitation of Kasdi Merbah, Algerian premier.

At Sofia airport Comrade Georgi Atanasov was seen off by Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Relations With Algeria Assessed
AU2305113389 Sofia BTA in English
1042 GMT 23 May 89

["Bulgaria, Algeria: New Opportunities for Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 23 (BTA)—The visit of Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, which starts today in Algeria is the occasion for the dailies to stress the upgrade development of the bilateral relations, to emphasize the opportunities for activation of the economic cooperation.

The Bulgaro-Algerian relations, dating back to the struggle of the Algerian people for independence, are strengthened at present by 30 agreements for cooperation in different spheres of life. It is to be regretted that the good political contacts do not correspond adequately to those in the sphere of economy. It seems that economy lags behind the tendencies in the development of the bilateral relations.

There is still a lot to be done in the economic sphere taking in mind the contacts between the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the National Liberation Front, the contacts between the Parliaments of the two countries, between public and mass organizations, taking in mind the coincidence of views on the cardinal issues of our times, and last but not least taking in mind the existing objective preconditions for mutual complementation of the economies.

The barter between the two countries ranges between 15-20 and in some years over 100 million dollars.

Bulgaria delivers to Algeria products of mechanical engineering—electric and motor trucks, lathes, electric motors and pumps, as well as variety seeds and other planting material. The relations in the sphere of stock breeding, tobacco production and fruit growing are also undergoing development. Ore, iron, oil and cables prevail in the import.

At the latest session of the Bulgaro-Algerian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation it has been decided to build in Algeria with Bulgarian assistance in 1990 mining complexes, to reconstruct and update enterprises in the sphere of chemical and pharmaceutical industry. Establishing of joint enterprises is also envisaged. Concrete plans were also outlined in the sphere of textile and food industry, electronics and electrical engineering. Agreements have been reached for joint construction of water supply projects, dams and dam walls.

Nicaraguan Internal Affairs Minister Visits

Atanasov Receives Tomas Borge

AU2205200789 Sofia BTA in English
1810 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, received Mr Tomas Borge, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation and minister of internal affairs of Nicaragua, who is currently on a working visit to this country.

During the talk Mr Georgi Atanasov acquainted the guest with the socio-economic changes in this country in the spirit of the July Concept for construction of socialism.

On his part the guest informed of the situation in Nicaragua, and spoke of the readiness of the Nicaraguan people to withstand the revolutionary achievements.

The two sides expressed their will to broaden and deepen the interaction in different spheres of life in interest of peace and social progress.

Mr Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs of Bulgaria, also took part in the meeting.

Borge Holds News Conference

AU2205182589 Sofia BTA in English
1648 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA)—Nicaragua is strictly fulfilling the agreements reached in Salvador and the forthcoming elections, in spite of the hopes of certain imperialistic forces, and will confirm that the Nicaraguan people support the revolutionary changes in the country, told a group of journalists Mr Tomas Borge Martinez, minister of internal affairs of Nicaragua, who is on a business visit here. He pointed out that the Nicaraguan Government guarantees the development of political pluralism in that country, the freedom and democracy of the pre-election campaign and the elections themselves.

The guest condemned the reluctance of the United States to take into consideration the process of reconciliation and the agreements already reached. In this connection he underlined that the developments in Panama are indicative of the possible actions Washington can take with regard to the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua. Now there is no danger of a direct military intervention on the part of the United States, but in principle it is possible, depending on the political situation in the country, the Nicaraguan minister of internal affairs added.

Mr Tomas Borge told about the grave condition the economy of Nicaragua is in and the efforts for strengthening the economy in a complicated situation. Gratitude was expressed to the Bulgarian leadership and all the Bulgarian people for the assistance rendered to the Nicaraguan people in its fight for building a new life, preserving its independence and the progress that has been made.

Turks Demonstrate Against 'Forced Bulgarization'

Protest With Hunger Strike

AU2005205489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 20 May 89 p 6

["E.L." report: "Hunger Strikes Against Forced Bulgarization"]

[Text] The Hague, 19 May—According to information received by the International Human Rights Society (IGFM) in Frankfurt, a great number of Turks living in Bulgaria are currently protesting with a hunger strike against the various measures of forced Bulgarization. According to the IGFM, which bases its statements on information from the Turkish group in Bulgaria, "at least several hundred people" are participating in the protest campaign, which started on 6 May. It is impossible to give an exact number. From the village of Todor Ikonomovo in northeast Bulgaria alone 41 hunger strikers are known. In another village an entire school class is participating, it was said. With their campaign, which is to last until the beginning of the Paris CSCE Human Rights Conference on 30 May, the protesters want to gain permission to retain their Turkish names and to observe their religious and national traditions without any hindrances.

Only 3 days after the beginning of the hunger strike, three leading members of the "Democratic League"—an independent organization of Turks who live in Bulgaria—were arrested at their respective places of exile, according to information received by the IGFM. Those arrested are League Chairman Mustafa Yumerov in Kumarevo and the two secretaries of the organization, Ali Ormanliev in Drazhak and Sabri Iskanderov in Kameno Pole. All three have been detained in an unknown place since 9 May, it was said. No reasons have been given for the arrests, except in the case of Iskanderov. Iskanderov has been accused of having sent letters to Bulgarian media and government bodies calling on the authorities to be ready for dialogue and protesting against measures of forced Bulgarization.

According to the IGFM, in the meantime the Dzhebel local group of the "Independent Human Rights Society" in Bulgaria has declared its solidarity with the concern of the Turks in hunger strike in Bulgaria; 40 people in Dzhebel—Bulgarian and Turkish members of the "Independent Human Rights Society"—have joined the Turks' hunger strike and also intend to end it only at the beginning of the Paris CSCE Human Rights Conference.

In the meantime, it has become known that writer Petur Manolov, secretary of the "Independent Human Rights Society," must leave Bulgaria over the next few days.

AFP Reports Protesters Killed

AU2305075389 Paris AFP in English
1139 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Vienna, May 22 (AFP)—At least three people were killed and seven were wounded when Bulgarian security forces opened fire on demonstrating ethnic Turks in the northeastern town of Todor Ikonomovo on Sunday, Bulgarian exiles said here Monday. The sources quoting witnesses contacted by telephone, said that some people had spoken of seven dead and 20 injured.

In an earlier incident, on Saturday a 47-year old man was beaten to death by police armed with rifle butts, as he took part with other members of the Turkish minority in a demonstration march in nearby Kaolinovo. The exiles said 15,000 people had taken part in the march. Neither incident has been confirmed officially.

The exiles said the Todor Ikonomovo demonstration followed the arrest of Tahir Aliev, a local human rights activist. After police came to take Mr Aliev away, a crowd of protesters headed for police headquarters to demand his release. The police at first seemed willing to talk to Jelial, Aliev, the brother of the arrested man. But troops began shooting at the protesters killing at least three people, Bulgarian exiles said.

The dead were named as Mehmed Saliev, 37, Hasan Aliev Arnaudov, 45 and a 55-year old man identified only as Mehmed, the exiles said quoting eyewitnesses.

Todor Ikonomovo, which lies about 60 kilometers (38 miles) from Shumen, has been closed off by the Army since late Sunday. Telephone lines to the town are down, the exiles said.

Meanwhile, more than 300 people have joined a hunger-strike launched on May 6 by Turks in several Bulgarian towns to demand the release of four human rights militants, the same sources said. For years, Bulgaria's Moslem Turkish-speaking community, estimated at about 900,000 people, has been fighting forced assimilation and the legal obligation to adopt "Bulgarian-sounding" surnames.

Trade Union Delegation Returns From Lisbon

AU2305094389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1900 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] One hour ago the delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council returned from Lisbon. The delegation had attended the Sixth Congress of the Intersindical—the general confederation of Portuguese working people.

Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and leader of the delegation, made the following statement to a Sofia radio reporter immediately after his arrival:

[Begin Andreev recording] This congress was a turning point in the activities of the Portuguese trade unions. In what sense? In the sense that nearly all European countries, including Portugal, are facing an important change in their lives today, a change connected with the fact that common market relations are expected to be even more intensified as of 1990, and an even more extensive internationalization lies ahead. The congress developed a program on the relations of the Portuguese trade unions with the common market, in the first place, and on the methods of neutralizing the negative phenomena stemming from the further intensification of integration among Western countries, in the second place. A struggle should be waged for the defense of the working people's interests against various obstacles that may arise in the process of European unification. [end recording]

Editorial Assesses Gorbachev Visit to PRC

AU2205134089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DEKO
in Bulgarian 19 May 89 p 5

[Editorial article: "Meeting of Century's Most Glorious Revolutions"]

[Text] While definitions, epithets, and assessments are not the issue here, it must be pointed out that both in East and West the new meeting of the century's most glorious revolutions was unanimously assessed as a historic event.

The meeting was a historic event for both the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Educated in the traditions of fraternal friendship and proletarian internationalism, the peoples of the two most powerful socialist countries lived for 3 decades under conditions of unnatural alienation. The bridges of friendship and cooperation collapsed one after another, while dialogue and unity of action were replaced by confrontation and conflicts. The first lesson of those tragic years, as the Soviet leader stressed, is to preserve good relations and transfer this great national and international asset from one generation to another.

The USSR and China are not returning to the situation of the 1950's. They have their positions, approaches, and mode of acting. Therefore, the other great lesson is, to understand the differences in the positions, instead of turning them into obstacles to cooperation. To jointly search for mutually acceptable solutions under conditions of respect for the positions and opinions—this is the only sensible approach. Vast prospects for developing political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation, and further coming together between the two peoples emerge on this foundation.

The great interest of the Chinese population in the visit of the first Soviet leader and restructuring in the USSR confirmed that the differences in policy and approaches do not exclude, but on the contrary, impose the need for cooperation along the road of renewing socialism. This is the third great lesson of the USSR-Chinese meeting.

The Soviet-Chinese meeting was a historic event for the socialist world because it revealed that the processes of restructuring and reforms that are taking place in the socialist countries even more strongly require from us that we learn from each other, exchange experience, and act together. This is so because we renounce forever the practice of imposing or copying uniform and mandatory models of socialism, and because the meeting confirmed the principles of fully respecting the independence of the socialist countries, and their right to select the forms and methods of social development on their own.

The restructuring in the USSR, the reforms in China, and the transformations in other socialist countries show that the world of socialism is on the offensive in advancing and in renewal, and this refutes the bourgeois theories about some crisis of world socialism. Freeing itself of the deformations, stagnation, dogmas, and administrative-edict methods, socialism is called upon to enrich itself with the most remarkable achievements of civilization in the economy, culture, science and technology, politics, and the law. This, as Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, is a noble and inspiring goal.

The meeting was a historic event for the international communist and workers movement, because we expect that the restoration of party relations between the CPSU and the CPC [Chinese Communist Party] will enhance the cooperation of the Chinese Communists with other units of the international communist movement, in the interest of the cause of peace, democracy, and social progress. Therefore, the Soviet-Chinese meeting was a great and happy event for the international community of Communists throughout the world.

The meeting was a historic event for mankind. Yes, the meeting of the two revolutions was a historical event also in its international aspect. The USSR-Chinese normalization, long expected by all, places world international relations on firmer and more reliable foundations. Freeing themselves from the remnants of confrontation and cooperating with all states the USSR and China can direct their efforts toward a common goal, and thus save mankind and human civilization.

Peace also has its battles, and in Beijing it won a decisive victory. It is a universal victory.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-19 May *AU2005143289*

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 12-19 May monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 18 May Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union Party of Germany. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 May 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, attended a festive meeting in the Central Club of the Bulgarian People's Army held in Sofia on 12 May to mark the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Pact. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 12 May 89)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting in Sofia on 18 May of the Sofia Oblast People's Council on Production, Construction, Food Supply, and other issues. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 19 May 89) Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, made a speech in Sofia on 9 May at the 10th session of the ninth National Assembly. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 89 p 2)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, had a meeting in Moscow on 17 May with Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. (Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 17 May 89) In Moscow on 19 May he was reported to have given a press conference at the Bulgarian Embassy on economic cooperation with the USSR. (Sofia BTA in English 0725 GMT 19 May 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, paid a 2-day working visit to Berlin on 11 and 12 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 12 May 89) In Sofia on 13 May Ovcharov signed an economic protocol with Nikolay Panichev, minister of the machine tool and tool building industry of the USSR. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 13 May 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, opened a Bulgarian exhibition of Thracian art in Venice on 13 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 13 May 89) In Cairo on 16 May Yordanov was received by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak (Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT 16 May 89) during a visit for cultural talks that ended on 17 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 17 May 89)

1st Group of Soviet Tanks Leaves 23 May
LD2305111689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1030 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] A military transport train carrying 23 T-72 tanks left the garrison of the Central Group of Soviet Troops at Krupka, in the district of Teplice, on its journey to Novorossiysk today. This is the first group of Soviet tanks to be withdrawn from Czechoslovak territory this year in line with the Soviet Government's decision. The withdrawal of the modern Soviet military equipment from the western half of our country began the day after the Warsaw Pact countries issued a challenge to the NATO countries to dissolve both military and political alliances, the first step toward which would be the demise of their respective military organizations.

In his briefing of Czechoslovak and foreign journalists, Lieutenant General Yuriy Shchepin, chief of staff of the Central Group of Soviet Forces, said that the withdrawal is a part of the implementation of the peace initiative and the unilateral reduction of the number of personnel and military equipment of Soviet Armed Forces as announced last December by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations. A total of 1,500 Soviet soldiers will be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia this year, 192 tanks will leave on military transport trains, and 20 aircraft will be transferred.

Editorial Comments on Gorbachev Visit to PRC
AU2205153189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 May 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Soviet-Chinese Glance Forward"]

[Text] In recent days the world has been looking with exceptional attention toward Beijing and the first Soviet-Chinese summit in 30 years. It has asked itself how this summit will enrich the rapidly changing international atmosphere, which is characterized by new approaches to interstate relations and the spirit of understanding and cooperation which has begun to assert itself. After Mikhail Gorbachev's 4-day stay in Beijing, it is apt to ask to what extent the results correspond to expectations, how soon the changes in relations will be seen in the practical activity of the two states and parties, to what extent the talks can speed up the solution of regional problems in the world, how the Soviet-Chinese meeting will affect developments in the vast Asia-Pacific region, and what it will contribute to the ongoing disarmament process in the world. There are more questions, and the coming years will provide answers to the majority of them.

However, already today one thing can be said with certainty—that the Beijing talks have gone down in history, that the two countries and their communist parties have put a full stop behind the difficult bilateral past, added up the pros and cons, and sat down at a cleanly laid table. We in Czechoslovakia have also sincerely welcomed this event, all the more so since it is fully in harmony with our

similar endeavor to normalize relations between the CSSR and China and their communist parties. As is known, last year this endeavor resulted in Czechoslovak-Chinese talks at the highest level.

Now, one important lesson from the recent past has been stressed in Beijing. It was formulated by Comrade Gorbachev at the Wednesday [17 May] meeting with representatives of the Chinese public as follows: "Two or three wrong decisions which do not respect the partner's interests, attempts to foist upon him one's own view, and the transferring of ideological conflicts and differences to further levels, up to the level of political confrontation between states, are enough for a wall of suspicion and mistrust to grow between formerly friendly countries."

The two countries' current agreement that there is no universal model for building socialist society has surprised no one. This principle is one of the pillars of the policy of restructuring proclaimed by the Soviet leadership, and is in accordance with the assessment worked out by the 13th CPC Congress in 1987.

Regardless of the 30 years of coolness in Sino-Soviet relations, the roots of the old friendship in the PRC have remained and have new sprouts. Moreover, it has been seen that, in a short time, the ideas of profound social restructuring and democratization in the USSR have won great sympathy, especially among the young Chinese. The friendship sown long ago in the hearts of the older generations has again begun to burn with a clearer flame.

A dialogue, a matter-of-fact and, above all, two-way exchange of experience between two equal partners is also coming to the fore in Soviet-Chinese relations. The majority of the socialist countries are now concentrating on fundamental reforms in both the political and economic spheres. They often come across similar difficulties, they must resolve formerly unknown problems. Each country approaches the solution of entire complexes of issues from a different angle; in addition, their deadlines are spread differently. This difference is objective, it is the source of many experiences. Because of this, in China today one can feel such great interest in the Soviet friends' experience from the rapidly proceeding reform of the political system, public information, and the development of socialist democracy in the life of the whole of society. On the other hand, the Soviet side does not hide its wish to learn as much as possible about the economic reforms in the PRC.

As has now been said in Beijing, a firm structure must be the foundation for the stability of future relations. The concluded talks finalized the rough construction of this that had taken several years. Now it will be up to the experts in individual fields to finalize this common home by specific agreements on cooperation and collaboration in the economy, culture, education, but also between the two countries' armed forces, provinces, and oblasts. The developments of the past months have confirmed that no formerly seemingly insoluble problem

has to be an insurmountable barrier. The best example is the solution of the—in the past—very sensitive conflict over Damanskiy Island in the Ussuri border river, but especially the USSR's pledge to reduce the number of its troops in Asia and the Far East, including the oblasts near the Chinese border. Commentators are rightly referring to the withdrawal of Soviet units from Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, and of Soviet formations from Mongolia.

The USSR and the PRC fully agreed that today there is nothing to prevent the two countries from proceeding side by side in order to seek a timely answer to the question of how to adapt Marxist theory, which was born in the past and at the beginning of this century, to the new conditions at the end of the 20th century. The majority of the socialist countries, including the USSR and the PRC, have chosen roads which best correspond to the specific features of their national conditions, to the level of the development of their production forces, and to their cultural traditions. The experience of every country is available to the other countries.

Foreign observers are trying to forecast what the "new type" Soviet-Chinese relations will look like in practice, to what extent the summit meeting will be projected into interparty relations or into the development of the international communist and workers movement. During a press conference, answering RUDE PRAVO's question, M. Gorbachev said that for several years now the CPSU has been building relations with all communist parties on the basis of equality, noninterference, independence, respect, and the mutually advantageous exchange of information. Therefore, also with regard to the CPC, there is no need to create any new forms.

Regarding interstate relations, the Soviet and Chinese leaderships realize that these are an important and integral part of the complex and multifaceted international mechanism. They pledge to build them on the basis of international principles: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in the internal affairs of the other side, equality, mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence. The USSR, the PRC, the United States, and the other big powers are today seeking a path from confrontation to dialogue, from arms race to reducing the threat of a global nuclear holocaust.

There is no doubt that Sino-Soviet cooperation in the economy, science, education, and other spheres can become an important factor. Not only the people of the two countries will benefit from such a pooling of forces, the economic and intellectual potential of the USSR and the PRC will also be able to become more actively involved in solving global problems, such as protection of the environment, the hunger of millions of people in the developing world, or the gigantic debts of many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

At the end of his visit, Comrade Gorbachev stressed that the USSR and the PRC have arrived at an understanding on many issues, that a harmony of philosophical approaches to the solution of problems has emerged, and that not even differing opinions are an obstacle to continuing the dialogue. The relations between the USSR and the PRC, and between the CPSU and the CPC, have been fully normalized, and the two countries and parties are looking ahead.

Johanes Meets Soviet Foreign Ministry Official
LD1905183189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Jaromir Johanes, Czechoslovak foreign minister, met with Ivan Aboymov, Soviet deputy foreign minister in the Cernin Palace in Prague today. They discussed the further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations and deeper cooperation between the two countries' Foreign Ministries, and also discussed topical international issues.

Culture, Science Protocol Signed With USSR
AU1905155889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
18 May 89 p 8

[CTK report in the "Brief Domestic News" column: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] The Intergovernmental Commission for CSSR-USSR Cooperation in the Spheres of Culture, Education, and Science concluded its first session in Prague yesterday [17 May]. Matej Lucan, CSSR deputy premier, and Vasilii Zakharov, USSR minister of culture, signed the final protocol. The two representatives appraised the successful cooperation between the two countries to date and expressed the conviction that the activities embarked upon by the intergovernmental commission would contribute to further enhancing the efficiency of their cooperation in the spheres of culture, education, and sciences. Miloslav Dockal, head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee department of education, science, and culture, was present during the signing of the protocol.

Paper Terms VOA Report on Yevtushenko 'Slander'
AU2205141689 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 19 May 89 p 7

["(zr)"-signed report: "Such a Small Lie...."]

[Text] The Voice of America [VOA] claimed on Tuesday, 16 May, that the Czechoslovak authorities had refused Soviet poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko permission to organize and attend an exhibition of photographs. The station said, and we quote: "The Czechoslovak visa section in Moscow (?) has refused to grant an entry visa to Yevtushenko, who was to have shown his photographs of Siberia in Prague."

Our readers will surely recall that an exhibition of photographs by poet Yevtushenko, entitled "Invisible Strings," was opened in Prague about 1 month ago (on 6 April); and that not only was the opening ceremony attended by two members of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Comrades Jan Fojtik and Miroslav Stepan, but also attended by the author himself. RUDE PRAVO even carried its own interview with the Soviet poet.

The Voice of America can claim as an excuse that it had taken over the small lie from some West German tabloid. However, the fact is that it attached its notorious anti-Czechoslovak slander to this claim—obviously in line with the principle that "those who want to beat the dog, always find a stick."

Hungary's Miklos Nemeth To Visit 24 May
AU2205120389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic Will Arrive"]

[Text] Prague— Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, will arrive on 24 May 1989 for a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec.

Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu's Visit Reviewed

Talks With Jakes Noted
AU1905113289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
18 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Talks Between Comrades Jakes and Ceausescu"]

[Text] In the morning, talks were held in Prague between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], and Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. They appreciated the periodical character of the meetings between the leaders of the two parties as landmarks in the deepening of the relations between the CPCZ and the RCP, between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania in all areas.

Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke about the implementation of the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, of the economic and social restructuring and democratization program which was established by the seventh plenary meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee—in agreement with the conditions and the demands of Czechoslovakia, and drawing from the inspiring experience of the CPSU and developed by the subsequent plenary meetings. He

emphasized that the party policy enjoyed popular support, in confirmation of the far-reaching and mobilizing echo of the call issued by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41th anniversary of the February 1948 events.

He told the Romanian guest the principles of the new economic mechanism that pursue a broad use of the economic management levers, the improvement of the forms and methods of central planning. On the basis of socialist cost-accounting, self-financing, and self-administration, the attributions and responsibility of the enterprises, of the working collectivities in meeting the demands of society are strengthened considerably. Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee, underscored the importance the party attaches to the deepening of socialist democracy, to the growing participation of the masses in the administration of society, which shows in the implementation of the measures for an intensification of the activity of the National Front and its member organizations, for the deepening of the self-management function of national committees, for the promotion of a policy of openness, and of public opinion information.

He also showed that the 18th CPCZ Congress was called for May 1990. Preparations for it require extensive political, theoretical, ideological, and organizational activity by the party to step up the work of party bodies and organizations so that the energy and creativity of the working masses may be given full scope for development. The congress will review the performance in the fulfillment of the socioeconomic tasks, as well as in the restructuring and democratization process, and will make important decisions for the future work of the party and society, in the interest of speeding up the socioeconomic development of the country and of improving the general standard of living, materially and spiritually.

Nicolae Ceausescu outlined the wideranging revolutionary changes in the Socialist Republic of Romania, especially after the Ninth RCP Congress, on the path of socialism, in agreement with the general laws and principles of socialism and with the conditions and realities in Romania. Emphasis was placed on the measures that were taken to create new forms of the administration of the economy on the basis of self-management, to improve planning, the economic and financial mechanism, to continually develop and strengthen socialist ownership, to achieve a broad revolutionary worker democratic system as part of the management of the whole economic and social activity with the people for the people which ensures the working people's active participation in the administration of society, in the fulfillment of the country's development goals.

The RCP, which always took action as a revolutionary party, was shown to have been the organizer and maker of all revolutionary changes in Romania. Society, it was stressed, cannot be changed, strategic aims cannot be

attained, communism cannot be built otherwise than by revolutionary struggle, by continuously strengthening the leading role of the party. The resolutions of the 13th RCP Congress were outlined along with the measures and programs that pursue the intensive growth of the Romanian economy, the modernization of industry and agriculture, the use of advanced technologies, the improvement of product quality, which will take Romania to a new, higher stage as a medium developed socialist country. The full repayment of the foreign debt at the end of March this year was shown to be a great victory of the Romanian people, an expression of the country's economic might, and to mark Romania's full economic and political independence.

The preparations were depicted for the 14th party congress which will give new prospects until 2000 and for the early decades of the third millennium that Romania will get into as a multilaterally developed socialist country with an advanced economic, scientific, and cultural potential and a high standard of living—materially and spiritually. Currently, the Romanian people was shown to be fully committed to the exemplary fulfillment of its development programs, being determined to mark the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation and the 14th party congress by new and significant achievements in all fields.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the understandings reached during their Bucharest meeting in April 1988 were being fulfilled and noted that both parties made efforts for the further expansion and deepening of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations in the political, economic, cultural, scientific, and other domains. However the attainment of the targets required a more resolute approach and more initiative from the central and local bodies, especially from those active in the economic domain.

Satisfaction was expressed in connection with the development of the relations between the two parties, between the governments, parliaments, mass and public organizations, between counties and cities in the two countries and the determination was stressed to intensify those links, to the end of deepening the friendship and developing the collaboration, the exchange of experience in socialist construction.

During the talks on economic collaboration the two party leaders stressed that the economic bodies in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania had to permanently see to the steady implementation of the long-term program of development of the economic, technological, and scientific collaboration until 2000.

The favorable development of the goods exchanges in 1988 was appreciated, as well as the fact that last year's exchanges, eight percent higher than the previous year, were the biggest ever in terms of volume. However, the share of the products resulting from cooperation and

specialization, standing at some 17 percent, was inadequate. It was assessed that the implementation of the measures agreed by the Joint Governmental Commission on Economic, Technological and Scientific Collaboration in Prague early in May would help the continuing development of the economic collaboration. It was shown that higher forms of collaboration, especially a substantial deepening of cooperation and specialization, including the expansion of direct relations between productive enterprises and between scientific research units, was the main way to intensify the economic collaboration between the two states. In that context, emphasis was placed on the importance of the "program for further deepening of cooperation in production and its specialization" signed during the visit.

Stress was placed on the need to intensify the work of the planning bodies in the two countries for the coordination of the economic plans for the 1991-1995 period, which are to be concluded in the first quarter of 1990.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu exchanged views on current issues of the international situation. They agreed that the fundamental issue of our days was the maintenance of peace and security in the world, the halting of the arms race, nuclear in the first place, the endorsement of new disarmament measures, the removal of the danger of a nuclear disaster. They stressed that the socialist countries' dynamic foreign policy, the activity of other states and progressive forces in the world were bringing some positive results, which showed in the passage from confrontation to dialogue and in confidence-building between states.

Nevertheless, the international situation continues to be complex and contradictory, with no sharp change for the better having taken place. Nuclear tests continue and so do the actions for the militarization of outer space and the modernization of weapons.

Related to that, reference was made to the determination of socialist countries to unilaterally reduce their armed forces, arms, and military budgets. It was underlined that the interests of the European peoples urged a passage to concrete disarmament measures, most importantly nuclear disarmament, the renunciation of modernization of tactical nuclear arms, and the opening of negotiations with a view to eliminating them and nuclear warheads, and all arms of mass destruction.

The conviction was expressed that a materialization of the proposals regarding the creation of zones free of nuclear and chemical arms in the Balkans, in central Europe, and on other parts of the European Continent, the materialization of Romania's initiative for a meeting of the Balkan heads of state and government, as well as the materialization of the Czechoslovak initiative regarding the creation of a zone of confidence, collaboration, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO member states would also contribute to strengthening

all-European security. In that context, the measures were outlined that the Czechoslovak side took regarding a meeting of the heads of Czechoslovakia's neighbour states on questions of environmental protection.

The belief was expressed that, in the event of constructive positions of all participant countries, the Vienna negotiations on diminishing conventional forces and on confidence and security-building measures would lead to results which could make an important contribution to the creation of a Europe of peace and collaboration, with the full observance of post-war territorial and political facts, to a lessening of tension and to the further improvement of the international situation.

The heads of the two parties also stressed the need for a strict observance, in interstate relations, of the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, border inviolability, territorial integrity, renunciation of the threat and use of force, mutual advantage, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

They reasserted the need for a firm riposte to any manifestation of revanchism, chauvinism, and nationalism, to any forms of pitting one people against another, to the attempts to infringe upon the states' territorial integrity.

It was agreed that under the current circumstances it was particularly important to take concrete action to solve the questions of underdevelopment and to build a new international economic order. The two parties' and states' consistent position for an exclusively political settlement of all the interstate conflicts and litigious issues was also reiterated.

The talks also covered the situation of the international communist and workers' movement. The sides noted that the movement was faced with new questions of principle, on whose solution depend the fate and the prospects of socialism and social progress in the world. This calls for a new approach to, and a new way of understanding the prospects of the revolutionary struggle, for a scientific analysis of the contemporary problems, and for relations among parties to be set on equality, independence and each party's right to work out its own political line, its revolutionary strategy and tactics, free from any foreign interference, in keeping with the concrete circumstances in which they carry on their activity. The two leaders asserted the resolve of their parties and states to militate firmly for the development of collaboration, for strengthening the unity and solidarity of all the socialist countries.

A wideranging exchange of opinions between parties is necessary and should include international and regional meetings as well as the upgrading of all forms of collaboration and the identification of new directions as well as a new content for the relations with social democratic, leftist and democratic movements and parties.

The talks were held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere and had a marked working character.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to Romania.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Visit Aids Cooperation

AU2205141389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
19 May 89 p 2

[Dalibor Macha commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Making Use of the Opportunities Offered"]

[Text] During his friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia and his talks with Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak, the top Romanian representative Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Romania, discussed a broad range of issues connected with Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation, and above all the economic relations between the two countries.

These talks showed that both countries have adequate untapped reserves, particularly in the sphere of economic relations. As CEMA partners, we are striving to join forces and resolve problems jointly, because there is no other alternative in our present interlinked and interdependent world. It is scarcely possible for any country to manage by itself, and this applies to both the economy and the superstructure. That is why the Program for Further Intensifying Production Cooperation and Specialization Between the CSSR and the SR of Romania is undoubtedly yet another step forward; in fact, it is sure to lead to an increased goods exchange, and also to an increase in the production of commodities on the basis of cooperation and specialization, which currently amounts to a mere 17 percent.

However, there is also another issue—the establishment of conditions for a common market. Naturally, here the primary condition is to achieve at least a relative balance of economies in individual countries. We are currently discussing this issue with Romania. However, our approaches to it must be accelerated, since time is ruthless and any procrastination in international economic relations can seriously impair the continuity of joining the international division of labor.

What possibilities are offered in our relations with Romania? We would like to cooperate on a broader basis in science and technology, to embark on joint ventures abroad, and to develop direct relations between our enterprises. In brief, we would like to make the speediest and most effective use of the most modern forms of international cooperation.

Of course, the developments in the two friendly countries are proceeding according to their own specific conditions; which naturally does not preclude the consolidation of our contacts of alliance. Our two countries are concerned, as are our other allies, with making socialism more attractive and with building a humane society of satisfied, educated people who cherish their dignity and want to fully assert themselves; the close cooperation of the socialist countries plays a significant and irreplaceable role in this effort.

On the whole, the Czechoslovak-Romanian talks can therefore be said to have established a favorable prerequisite for a further upsurge of cooperation, which will be mutually advantageous for both countries.

Government 'Standpoint'

AU2305075989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 May 89 p 1

["CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Standpoint on Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Visit to the CSSR"]

[Text] Prague—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee discussed a report on the course and results of the friendly working visit by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the CSSR on 17 May 1989. The Presidium expressed appreciation for the results of the talks; for the matter-of-fact character and frankness of the exchange of views between the General Secretaries of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the RCP, Comrades Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu, on the fundamental issues of the construction of socialism in the two countries; for the assessment of the current level of and prospects for cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP, and between the CSSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania, which is taking place in the spirit of traditional friendship and understanding.

In accordance with the conclusions of the talks, the Presidium expressed appreciation for the bilateral interest in further enhancing the standard of economic and scientific cooperation, particularly by expanding cooperation and specialization, establishing direct relations between production enterprises and scientific research facilities, including cooperation on third markets. It expressed the conviction that further qualitative progress in that sphere will be fostered by the Program for the Intensification of Production Cooperation and Specialization which was signed during the visit.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium assessed as positive the unanimity of the two sides' views on fundamental issues of international policy, their determination to continue actively contributing, together with the other Warsaw Pact states and all of world's realistic

forces, to the assertion of the positive trends in the development of international relations in the interest of peace, progress, and cooperation among all countries and nations.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium instructed party bodies and Communists in state and economic organs to work out and implement the conclusions of the talks.

Paper Interviews Vaclav Havel After Release

AU2205121789 Vienna PROFIL in German
22 May 89 pp 56-57

[Interview with dissident Vaclav Havel by Alfred Schwarz in Prague; date not given: "Self-Confidence Is Increasing"]

[Text] PROFIL: Mr Havel, did you expect your release?

Havel: Throughout my time in prison I felt that I would be released after serving half of my sentence, but I was not absolutely sure. This was a political decision at a very high level. In the CSSR a telephone call can bring about such a decision. I was sure of being released only when I was really outside the prison.

PROFIL: What were the conditions of your imprisonment like?

Havel: This depends on with what you compare them. If I compare this term in prison with the one 10 years ago, there naturally was a great difference. Ten years ago I was the most persecuted person among the persecuted and the most terrorized among the terrorized. This was really tough. However, this time I was a prominent prisoner and I was appropriately treated. Of course, this would have been different for a less prominent person. I was isolated, but I prefer this. For most prisoners isolation is an exacerbation of the sentence, but in this case I was a bit removed from the strict system of orders and the routine in CSSR prisons. I had more time to myself.

PROFIL: Did you have an opportunity to read newspapers?

Havel: I was able to read RUDE PRAVO and my family also sent me other publications—only official ones, of course. This was very important for me, because I learned what was going on outside.

PROFIL: Why have you been released?

Havel: Milos Jakes (chief of the Czechoslovak Communist Party—the editors) should be the one to answer this question. I do not know why I was imprisoned, and I also do not know why I was released. My release was probably intended as a political gesture before the Paris human rights conference, at which the Prague Government wants to show its generosity. However, with my release

the Prague Government does not eliminate the fact that many other dissidents have to remain in prison. The public must know this. However, I am naturally happy that I am free again.

PROFIL: Do you think that this is a new tactical move by the government?

Havel: I think that the government itself does not know what it wants, that it does not have any strategy and tactics. It is wandering about, it is acting in a contradictory manner, and it is doing a lot of nonsense, which then turns against itself. My sentencing also was something like this. I think that the government policy is completely without plan.

PROFIL: Do you think that there might be changes in the party like the ones under Dubcek in 1968?

Havel: This is a very difficult question. On the one hand, the changes in the Soviet Union and in other East bloc countries also influence our country, so that sooner or later things also have to change in the CSSR; on the other hand, I do not see anyone who could effect such a change in the party. For 20 years the communist system has been producing faceless bureaucrats, and I cannot imagine a new Dubcek among these people without faces.

PROFIL: What is the influence of Gorbachev's policy on the CSSR?

Havel: It is quite certain that developments in the Soviet Union, in Poland, and in Hungary have some influence: Things are becoming more difficult for our government. However, these developments also influences the behavior of the Czechoslovak people: Self-confidence is increasing.

PROFIL: The government has announced cuts in subsidies for foodstuffs and basic consumer goods. This means price hikes. How will the population react?

Havel: It is difficult to say. Here we do not have the tradition of social disobedience or of strikes, such as in Poland. The people in our country complain in restaurants, shops, and also at home, of course. But it is not impossible that price hikes might also cause strikes.

PROFIL: Which changes do you expect for the coming years?

Havel: Something has to change. It is a historical necessity to leave the path followed by the Czechoslovak Government today. I cannot predict when and how this will happen. It might happen in 5 years but it might also happen in a week.

PROFIL: You have been released on probation. Will you withdraw a bit from politics in the near future?

Havel: I will continue what I have been doing all my life. First and foremost, I am a writer. It is the writer's vocation to write and to tell the truth. This is what I did, what I am doing, and what I will continue to do. Sometimes they arrest me for it, sometimes they do not. This is their problem. I have to remain loyal to this vocation, I cannot betray myself. I do not believe that they will arrest me again. This depends on the political situation and on the atmosphere in our country.

PROFIL: So far you have been in prison for a total of 4 years. Have you ever thought of giving up the political struggle?

Havel: What I am doing and what is bothering the government so much is not political activity in the strict sense of the word. I do not strive for any position of power, I do not run for any political office. I try to serve truth. However, such an activity naturally gains a strong political quality in our situation. This is a particularity of our conditions. But it is not my speciality.

PROFIL: You are a political symbol of political resistance in the CSSR, like Sakharov in the Soviet Union and Lech Walesa in Poland. Does this great responsibility oppress you?

Havel: It is indeed a great burden to play such a role. Fate wanted it this way and the only thing I can do is to tackle this burden as best as I am able.

PROFIL: What do you say to the reports that you have been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize?

Havel: I do not believe that I will get the prize. There are many other, important candidates, who are worthier than I am. However, if I were to get it, this would be very good for strengthening Czechoslovak national awareness. It would mean many problems and complications for me, because I would be even more in the focus of political interest. But, of course, it would be very good for our cause.

PROFIL: What are your next plans?

Havel: I will spend the next 14 days at home in Prague. I have many things to do. But then I need rest. I will go to my house in the country and complete the play I started to write before my arrest.

PROFIL: What will it be about?

Havel: I would like to say only that it takes Shakespeare's King Lear as a guide. However, an audience who does not know King Lear well, would not recognize it. It deals with the archetypal topic of an old man who remembers all the women in his life. This is also known from fairy tales and legends. The play is already completed in my head, and half of it has already been written.

PROFIL: Does this play also have political intentions?

Havel: This time it will be a universal, existentially human drama. It will not contain a direct political analysis of the current system. I have already written enough on that. Now I have the need to express myself in a way that is more generally valid.

Dissident Hunger Striker Devaty Released
*AU2305093189 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 23 May 89 p 4*

[Report by "E.L.": "Prague Releases Dissident Devaty"]

[Text] The Hague, 22 May—According to the International Human Rights Society (IGFM), the dissident and Catholic activist Stanislav Devaty, who protested against his unlawful arrest with a hunger strike recently, has been released. As the society, which is based in Frankfurt/Main, reported on Monday [22 May], referring to telephone reports of Prague civil rights activists, the prisoner, who had been transferred to a hospital, was informed by the public prosecutor on Friday [19 May] that he would be released. However, investigations of the former spokesman of the "Charter 77" civil rights movement because of his "preparations for instigation" reportedly have not been discontinued. The civil rights activist, who is debilitated due to the hunger strike and was hospitalized in the intensive care section a week ago, is reportedly better now. Prague activists said last week that they were concerned about his state of health. Allegedly Devaty will be transferred to a hospital in his home town of Gottwaldov next week. Following several weeks in prison, Devaty was released from prison and hospitalized on 14 April. He was imprisoned again on 1 May. He is one of the signatories of a petition addressed to the Prague government, demanding the release of political prisoners and the fulfillment of the points listed in the so-called "Catholic Petition."

Leaders Greet Newly Elected SFRY Counterparts
*AU2205172189 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 19 May 89 p 2*

[Report attributed to "(z)" and CTK in the "Receptions, Negotiations, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague (z)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], sent a congratulatory telegram to Milan Pancevski on the latter's election to the post of president of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. In the telegram he expressed the conviction that the existing all-around successful cooperation between the CPCZ and LCY and the CSSR and SFRY, filled with mutual understanding, would continue to intensify and develop in the interests of the peoples of our two countries and in the interests of peace and social progress in the world.

Prague (CTK)—Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, sent a congratulatory telegram to Slobodan Gligorijevic, new president of the SFRY Assembly, on his election to this office.

Ratification Papers Exchanged With DPRK
*AU1905082189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 May 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "Exchange of Ratification Papers With the DPRK"]

[Text] Prague—On Tuesday [16 May] in Prague, Evzen Vacek, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, exchanged verbal notes with Kim Kwang-sop, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR, on the intrastate approval of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the DPRK, which was signed in Pyongyang on 11 September 1988 by the most senior state representatives, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and Kim Il-song, DPRK president.

At the same time, ratification papers were exchanged on the agreement concerning mutual legal aid in civil, family, and penal matters, and also on the consular arrangement between both states.

The treaty of friendship and cooperation, which takes effect in its entirety, is the fundamental political and legal document establishing the achieved level of mutual relations and demarcating the direction of their further development.

The two other agreements will provide legal protection to persons working on the territory of the other state and with this in mind will also facilitate official contact between the appropriate organs. The documents will come into effect 30 days after the exchange of the above-mentioned papers.

Housing Joint Venture Founded With Austria
*AU1805143989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 May 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "Shareholding Company To Produce Small Houses"]

[Excerpts] Tabor—A new international shareholding company to improve housing conditions in the countryside has been founded in Kosice in the Tabor District. It will manufacture triple-glazed windows and small timber family homes. Involved in the enterprise are the local Kosice united agricultural cooperative, the South Bohemian Timber Works of Ceske Budejovice, the Kardasova Recice united agricultural cooperative, the Tradex company of Prague, and the ELK company of Austria. [passage omitted]

The houses will have an area of 10 by 14 meters, and when the company is in full operation, it will produce 1 home a day and 60 square meters of windows. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Appearances for 11-17 May
AU2005151289

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 12 to 18 May report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

A seminar on internal enterprise management held in Prague on 11 May was chaired by Jozef Lenart and attended by Frantisek Hanus. (RUDE PRAVO 12 May p 2)

At Brno Airport on 12 May Vladimir Herman, accompanied by Milan Vaclavik, greeted Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, on his arrival in South Moravia. (Bratislava PRAVDA 13 May p 1)

In Prague on 16 May Jan Fojtik and Alois Indra chaired a joint session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee Legal and Ideological Commissions. (RUDE PRAVO 17 May p 2)

In Bratislava on 16 May Ignac Janak and Ivan Knotek accompanied Vitaliy Masol, Ukrainian premier, on the second day of his visit to Slovakia. (Bratislava PRAVDA 17 May p 1)

Upon his arrival in Prague on 17 May, Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed at Ruzyně Airport by Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, and Jozef Lenart. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 1)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Karel Urbanek, Vladimir Herman, and Frantisek Hanus, hosted a gala luncheon in honor of Nicolae Ceausescu, in Prague on 17 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 2)

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Milos Jakes, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Karel Urbanek, Vladimir Herman, and Frantisek Hanus, conducted a meeting with Nicolae Ceausescu, in Prague on 17 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 2)

Departing from Prague on 17 May, Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off at Ruzyně Airport by Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, and Jozef Lenart. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 2)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, held talks with Vasiliy Zakharov, Soviet culture minister, in Prague on 16 May. (RUDE PRAVO 17 May p 2)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Lawry Wilson Herron, Australian ambassador to the CSSR, and George Homostean, Romanian ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on 11 May. (RUDE PRAVO 12 May p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL) Central Committee, presented an order to Stefan Cicilla, deputy head of a CPSL Central Committee department, in Bratislava on 16 May. (RUDE PRAVO 17 May p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic (SR), attended a meeting of the Bratislava National Committee on the fulfillment of the city's election program, in Bratislava on 17 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 2) He accompanied Vitaliy Masol, Ukrainian premier, on his tour of Slovak enterprises on the third day of his visit to Slovakia, on 17 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Helmut Zilk, mayor of Vienna, in Prague on 11 May. (RUDE PRAVO 12 May p 1) He visited communications employees, in Prague on 11 May. (RUDE PRAVO 12 May p 2) He visited the World Federation of Trade Unions headquarters, in Prague on 11 May. (RUDE PRAVO 12 May p 2) He attended and addressed a conference of the Prague Socialist Youth Union City Committee on 14 May. (MLADA FRONTA 15 May p 1) He departed with a delegation of parliament deputies for a visit to Britain on 14 May. (RUDE PRAVO 15 May p 6) He arrived in Ireland with a delegation of parliament deputies on 17 May. (RUDE PRAVO 18 May p 7)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, chairman of the Czech SR Committee for Party Work, and chairman of the Czech SR National Front Central Committee, chaired a session of the Czech SR National Front Presidium, in Prague on 12 May. (RUDE PRAVO 13 May p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, arrived in Moscow for talks on 11 May. (RUDE PRAVO 12 May p 7) He returned from his visit to Moscow on 13 May. (RUDE PRAVO 15 May p 7) He attended a meeting on cooperation between CSSR institutions on promoting tourism to the USSR, in Prague on 16 May. (RUDE PRAVO 17 May p 2) He made a working visit to North Bohemia on 17 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 8)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Central Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee, attended a

conference of the Central Bohemian regional organization of the Czechoslovak People's Party, in Prague on 13 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 15 May p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, presented an order to Josef Soban, South Moravian police chief, in Brno on 15 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 16 May p 2)

Miroslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, addressed a seminar on economic restructuring, in Bratislava on 15 May. (RUDE PRAVO 16 May p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, chaired a session of the CPCZ Commission for Science and Technology, in Prague on 16 May. (RUDE PRAVO 17 May p 2) He attended a session of the CPCZ Central Committee Economic Commission, in Prague on 17 May. (Bratislava PRAVDA 18 May p 8)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Toncho Chakurov, Bulgarian ambassador to the CSSR, to discuss unspecified bilateral issues, in Prague on 16 May. (RUDE PRAVO 17 May p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister for national defense, received a delegation of army sportsmen, in Prague on 16 May. (RUDE PRAVO 17 May p 8)

Poland's Jaruzelski Visits, Holds Official Talks

Officials at Talks Named

LD2205124289 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1048 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The highest representatives of the GDR and Poland, Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, began their political talks in Berlin this morning. The first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council arrived this morning for a friendly visit to the GDR and was cordially welcomed by the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Wojciech Jaruzelski is accompanied by Wladyslaw Baka, Jozef Czyrek, and Marian Orzechowski, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee; Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, member of the Secretariat and head of the Secretariat office of the PZPR Central Committee; as well as other officials. Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; members of the SED Central Committee; Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Guenter Sieber, head of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee; and other officials were also at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport to welcome the Polish guests.

Parallel with the talks at the highest level, meetings took place between members of the two delegations. Thus, Hermann Axen and Jozef Czyrek, as well as Kurt Hager and Marian Orzechowski, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committees of the SED and the PZPR; Guenter Mittag and Wladyslaw Baka, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committees of the SED and the PZPR, also began their talks. Present at the talks are Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, as well as Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer is conferring with his Polish counterpart, Tadeusz Olechowski.

State Agreements Signed

LD2205131989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1255 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and the Polish People's Republic, as a result of the successful top-level talks in Berlin, have agreed on important documents of friendship and good-neighborly cooperation. After the friendly meeting between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, a GDR-Polish treaty on the delimitation of the sea territories in the Oder Bight was signed by the two countries' foreign ministries, Oskar Fischer and Tadeusz Olechowski.

An agreement between the central committees of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] on long-term social cooperation was signed by Kurt Hager and Marian Orzechowski, members of the SED and PZPR Central Committee Politburos, respectively. The two officials next initialled a joint declaration of the SED and PZPR on principles, tasks, and objectives for the further development of cultural cooperation between the two states to the year 2000. Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski and the members of the two delegations who attended the signing ceremony at Schloss Niederschoenhausen congratulated each other on the result.

The signing of the agreement corresponds to the wishes of the two sides to go on developing and intensifying cooperation between the social scientists of the GDR and Poland on the basis of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress.

In accordance with this, joint research will concentrate in particular on current issues of social theory and the practice of the construction of socialism in the two fraternal countries. At the nub of social science, cooperation should be the new internal and international conditions for the development of socialism, its political, socioeconomic, and intellectual-cultural transformations, the motivating forces of socialist reconstruction as well as issues of the development of the political systems of the GDR and Poland.

The SED and the PZPR agreed to develop cooperation in the period 1990-95 in five main directions, for which detailed research assignments were agreed in each case:

1. The dialectic of socialism and the scientific-technological revolution. Issues of the planning and management of the national economy, socialist economic integration, and economic cooperation between the GDR and Poland.
2. Development of socialist democracy. Changes in consciousness, social structure, and living conditions.
3. History and traditions of the German and Polish workers' movements, and of relations between the SED and the PZPR.
4. Development of the intellectual culture and language.
5. Historical perspectives of mankind. The unity of socialism and peace. Ideological debates on the future of the world.

The SED and the PZPR see these research directions as a framework for social science cooperation, which will be transformed into concrete shape by means of agreements between academic institutions of the two parties and countries. They agreed to devote particular attention to the raising of the theoretical level and the practical efficacy of social science research cooperation and to mold the forms and methods of cooperation in a more effective way.

Cultural Agreement Signed

*LD2205151589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1359 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Joint Declaration of the SED and the PZPR on the Principles, Tasks, and Aims of Further Development of Cultural Cooperation Between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland up to the year 2000" directs state organs, cultural institutions, and social organizations in the sphere of culture toward even closer, more effective, and qualitatively higher cooperation between the partners in the two countries.

In the joint document which has been signed, both parties and states stress the particular importance of culture in the even closer shaping of relations between the two peoples, for deepening friendship between the citizens, particularly between the youth of the GDR and Poland, in the strengthening of socialist patriotism and internationalism.

The joint cultivation of the humanist legacy and of the progressive and revolutionary traditions of the two peoples is a firm part of this cooperation. This applies above all to those traditions which are marked by internationalism and humanism and which promote mutual respect and understanding for one another. In the joint declaration, both sides express their intention to support, by means of comprehensive activities and their even closer cooperation, dialogue and cooperation between artists and those active in the intellectual and cultural spheres, between institutions and organizations which are actively working for the cause of peace and socialism.

The exchange of experience in all sectors of culture and art and on all levels is to be concentrated even more strongly on the search for new forms to further enhance the quality and effectiveness of cultural cooperation and on modern methods of managing and organizing cultural life.

The many contacts in the cultural sector help each side to get to know the other's latest achievements in artistic creativity and help also to keep the artistic works of one country permanently present in the cultural life of the other.

Both sides devote great attention to the development and deepening of cooperation between the young generations of artistic and cultural creators. The treaty between the GDR and Poland on the "Friendship Between the Youth of the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland" is an excellent basis for this. There is to be further development of cooperation between artistic colleges and vocational schools, and multifaceted forms of joint projects.

With regard to the future needs of cooperation between the two countries, the SED and the PZPR lay great emphasis on mutual support in the training of Polish studies specialists in the GDR and of Germanists in Poland. Stress is laid on the special significance of the

cultural and information centers of the two countries, which are making an essential contribution to each side learning something of the history and present of the socialist neighbor.

Both sides will continue to support direct contacts between the cultural institutions and organizations of both countries in the areas [bezirk] of the GDR and the voivodships of Poland, particularly in border areas. Ceremonies to mark important festivals, anniversaries, and jubilees in the cultural sphere of an international, bilateral, and national character will be particular high points.

Joint Statement on Visit

*LD2205171389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1428 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the joint press statement on the visit by Wojciech Jaruzelski to the GDR is as follows:

At the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, visited the GDR for a friendly visit on 22 May 1989.

The talks, which took place in the spirit of the traditional friendship and close solidarity, were attended by the following people: on behalf of the GDR the members of the Politburo and secretaries of the SED Central Committee Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, and Guenter Mittag; the members of the SED Central Committee Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; Guenter Sieber, head of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee; Ernst Timm, first secretary of the SED Rostock Bezirk [area] Executive; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, secretary of state and head of the chancellery of the GDR Council of State chairman; as well as Juergen Van Zwoll, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR to the Polish People's Republic;

On behalf of the Polish People's Republic, the members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Wladyslaw Baka, Jozef Czyrek, and Marian Orzechowski; member of the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee and head of the Chancellery of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak; the Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski; the members of the PZPR Central Committee Ernest Kucza, head of the Secretariat of the Commission for International Affairs of the PZPR Central Committee, and Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the Voivodship, committee of the PZPR in Szczecin; as well as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic to the GDR, Janusz Obodowski.

During the meeting, Kurt Hager and Marian Orzechowski signed the "Joint Declaration of the SED and the PZPR on the Principles, Tasks, and Aims of Further Development of Cultural Cooperation Between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland up to the year 2000" and the "Agreement between the Central Committee of the SED and the Central Committee of the PZPR on cooperation in the social science sector 1990-1995."

The ministers of foreign affairs, Oskar Fischer and Tadeusz Olechowski, signed the "Treaty Between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland on the Demarcation of the Sea Areas in the Oder Bay."

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski paid tribute to the historic achievements wrought over the last 4 decades during socialist development in the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland, achievements also expressed in the completely new relationship between the two peoples on this side and the other side of the Oder-Neisse Peace Frontier.

During the friendly exchange of views, Erich Honecker informed his guest about the efforts of the workers of the GDR under the leadership of the SED to worthily celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR with high achievements in all sectors of social life, and thus at the same time prepare for the 12th party congress of the SED. The shaping of developed socialist society in the GDR was taking place as a continuous process of continuity and renewal.

Erich Honecker assessed the results of the local elections as a clear commitment by the citizens of the GDR to their socialist state and as the continuation of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy. During the Whitsun meeting of the Free German Youth in Berlin, hundreds of thousands of young people reaffirmed in an expressive way their close alliance with the SED and their full support for its policy.

Wojciech Jaruzelski briefed his host on the results of the 2d national delegates' conference of the PZPR and the resolutions of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR. He reported on the efforts of the party, in alliance with broad social forces, to continue purposefully along the path of reform and national reconciliation, taking account of the results of the round table talks. An important milestone on this road was the forthcoming elections to the Sejm and the Senate of the People's Republic Poland.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski noted with satisfaction that the traditional friendly relations between the two socialist neighbors were developing continuously and successfully in implementation of the agreements reached during their meeting in June 1988 in Wroclaw. They described the firm alliance between the

GDR and the People's Republic Poland as an important factor of stability and peace in Europe and an effective contribution to the strengthening of world socialism.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed the trusting cooperation between the SED and the PZPR as a firm basis and motive force for the constant shaping of relations between the states and people. They both came out in favor of continuing varied cooperation and the exchange of experiences at the central and local levels effectively in addition to developing working contacts on a broad basis.

The two sides stressed the need to strengthen and deepen the proven cooperation between the governments and parliaments, and between the allied parties and social organizations with regard to the demands of the 1990's.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski paid tribute to the implementation of the friendship project of the youth of the GDR and the People's Republic Poland and the successful continuation of children and young peoples' exchanges as an effective contribution to the deepening of friendship between the two peoples. They spoke in favor of examining, within the framework of what is possible, measures to develop travel by individuals between the two states, particularly to develop organized tourism.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski acknowledged the mutually advantageous development of economic relations. The tasks agreed on for the present 5-year period from the long-term program of cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland in science, technology, and production are being fulfilled in all spheres. Mutual trade is showing a high degree of dynamism.

The two representatives were in favor of fully exhausting the existing possibilities of cooperation in all spheres of the economy and the enterprises. They spoke in favor of the further deepening of the economic and technological cooperation and emphasized the necessity of coordinating further measures for the development of the division of labor and cooperation with the coordination of the plan for the period 1991 to 1995, with the continuation of the reciprocal supplies of machines, equipment, raw materials, fuels, supply products, as well as consumer goods.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized that the friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states was an important prerequisite for the further successful progress of the GDR and the Polish People's Republic on the path of socialism.

They stated with satisfaction that progress towards the lessening of the danger of war had been achieved thanks to the coordinated peace policy of the allied socialist countries and the efforts of all forces of reason and realism. The GDR and the Polish People's Republic had helped to

fashion this encouraging development through their active work within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, their constructive cooperation with other states, as well as their own initiatives on an international level. In this connection, the two sides emphasized the topicality of their proposals for the creation of zones of trust and security which are free of nuclear and chemical weapons along the lines of contact between the alliances in Central Europe as well as for the formation of a zone with reduced armaments and increased trust in Central Europe.

Both representatives stressed their states' determination to continue to do all they can to make the recently effected change from confrontation to detente irreversible. They expressed their concern about the dangerous efforts of certain circles within NATO to destroy what has been achieved with great effort, particularly in the area of missiles. They agreed that greater significance must be attached to political dialogue as well as to agreements which serve peace and cooperation which is advantageous for all.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski assess the proposals on the radical reduction of forces and conventional arms in Europe, put forward at the Vienna negotiations by the Warsaw pact states, as an extremely timely step to bring the continuing arms race to an end. The same aim was served also by the unilateral reductions decided upon by the GDR, the People's Republic of Poland, and other allied socialist states. With the new decision of the USSR to remove 500 nuclear warheads from the territory of its allies before the end of this year, and to remove all tactical nuclear ammunition from this territory by 1991, if the United States makes a similar step, the Warsaw Pact was providing a further example of its policy, which is aimed consistently at peace and disarmament.

The GDR and the People's Republic of Poland attached extraordinary importance to the proposal put forward in Berlin recently by the Warsaw pact states to start separate negotiations on the gradual reduction and final removal of tactical weapons in Europe in the near future. Thus the preconditions could be created for a simultaneous reduction of conventional weapons and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. What we needed was an adequate answer to the comprehensive disarmament proposals and measures of the Warsaw pact states.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski paid tribute to the results of the Vienna CSCE meeting and the negotiations on conventional disarmament and confidence-building in Vienna which it initiated. They spoke in favor of the full implementation of the principles and stipulations of the final act of Helsinki and of the other CSCE documents in their entirety as a decisive element for the shaping of the joint European home.

With regard to the 50th anniversary of the attack on Poland by Fascist Germany and the unleashing of the World War II, Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski

stressed the obligation to use all their powers for the preservation of peace and the prevention of a nuclear inferno.

They expressed their concern about the activation of neo-Fascist forces, and also about the possibility of their parliamentary participation in the FRG and West Berlin and stressed the necessity to work against this development.

Both statesmen noted that the inviolability of the existing frontiers and the respecting of the territorial and political realities as they exist, as well as noninterference in internal affairs and the observation of the generally recognized norms and principles of international law are an indispensable condition for the securing of a lasting peace and for the development of cooperation on the European Continent.

Wojciech Jaruzelski invited Erich Honecker to visit the People's Republic of Poland. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Cultural Declaration Reported

*LD2205175989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1359 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "Joint Declaration of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] on the Principles, Tasks and Aims of Further Development of Cultural Cooperation Between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] up to the Year 2000" directs the state organs, cultural institutions, and social organizations in the sphere of culture toward even closer, more effective, and qualitatively higher cooperation between the partners in the two countries.

In the joint document which has been signed, both parties and states stress the particular importance of culture in the even closer shaping of relations between the two peoples, for deepening friendship between the citizens, particularly between the youth of the GDR and the PPR, in the strengthening of socialist patriotism and internationalism.

The joint cultivation of the humanist legacy and of the progressive and revolutionary traditions of the two peoples is a firm part of this cooperation. This applies above all to those traditions which are marked by internationalism and humanism and promote mutual respect and understanding for one another. In the joint declaration, both sides express their intention to support, by means of comprehensive activities and their even closer cooperation, dialogue and cooperation between artists and those active in the intellectual and cultural spheres, between institutions and organizations which are actively working for the cause of peace and socialism.

The exchange of experience in all sectors of culture and art and on all levels is to be concentrated even more strongly on the search for new forms to further enhance the quality and effectiveness of cultural cooperation and on modern methods of managing and organizing cultural life.

The multifarious contacts in the cultural sector help each side to get to know the other's latest achievements in artistic creativity and help also to keep the artistic works of the one country permanently present in the cultural life of the other.

Both sides devote great attention to the development and deepening of cooperation between the young generations of artistic and cultural creators. The treaty between the GDR and the PPR on "Friendship Between the Youth of the GDR and the PPR" is an excellent basis for this. There is to be further development of cooperation between artistic colleges and vocational schools, and many-faceted forms of joint projects.

With regard for the future needs of cooperation between the two countries, the SED and the PZPR lay great emphasis on mutual support in the training of Polish studies specialists in the GDR and of German specialists in the PPR. Stress is laid on the special significance of the cultural and information centers of the two countries, which are making an essential contribution to each side learning something of the past and present of their socialist neighbour.

Both sides will continue to support direct contacts between the cultural institutions and organizations of both countries in the areas (bezirk) of the GDR and the voivodships of the PPR, particularly in the border areas. Ceremonies on important festivals, anniversaries, and jubilees in the cultural sphere of an international, bilateral and national character will be particular highlights.

'Text' of Border Treaty

LD2205185689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1345 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the treaty on delimitation of the sea territories in the Oder Bight, signed by the foreign ministers of the GDR and Poland, Oskar Fischer and Tadeusz Olechowski, in Berlin today, is as follows:

The German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Poland have, in an effort to further deepen and develop good-neighborly and friendly relations.

Starting from the importance of the agreement between the GDR and Poland on the demarcation of the established and existing German-Polish state border signed in Zgorzelec on 6 July 1950, of the act on carrying out the demarcation of the state border between Germany and

Poland signed in Frankfurt/Oder on 27 January 1951, and of the treaty between the GDR and Poland on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance signed in Berlin on 28 May 1877,

guided by the generally accepted principles and norms of maritime international law,

and in the desire to delimit the territorial waters, the continental shelf and the fishing zones of the GDR and Poland and with consideration of the conditions in the Oder Bight,

have agreed the following:

Article 1

The common border of the territorial waters of the GDR and Poland runs along straight lines (geodesic lines), which join the following points:

- A. 53 degrees 55' 45.45" N 14 degrees 13' 40.78" E
- B. 53 degrees 59' 21.46" N 14 degrees 14' 38.84" E
- C. 54 degrees 07' 39.76" N 14 degrees 12' 12.03" E.

Article 2

In the Oder Bight area Poland sets out the outer limit of its territorial waters so that it runs along straight lines (geodesic lines), which join the following points:

- D. 54 degrees 07' 37.00" N 14 degrees 16' 51.00" E
- E. 54 degrees 08' 38.00" N 14 degrees 20' 48.00" E

Article 3

In the Oder Bight area the GDR sets out the outer limit of its territorial waters so that it runs along straight lines (geodesic lines), which join the following points:

- C. 54 degrees 07' 39.76" N 14 degrees 12' 12.03" E
- F. 54 degrees 14' 25.43" N 14 degrees 10' 11.75" E
- G. 54 degrees 16' 45.28" N 14 degrees 04' 17.53" E
- H. 54 degrees 26' 33.90" N 14 degrees 04' 48.70" E

Article 4

(1) The border of the continental shelf and the fishing zones of the GDR and Poland runs along straight lines (geodesic lines), which join the following points:

- I. 54 degrees 07' 38.36" N 14 degrees 14' 21.80" E
- J. 54 degrees 10' 08.00" N 14 degrees 21' 08.00" E
- K. 54 degrees 23' 00.00" N 14 degrees 35' 58.84" E
- L. 54 degrees 30' 00.00" N 14 degrees 45' 00.00" E
- M. 54 degrees 32' 01.31" N 14 degrees 37' 45.23" E

(2) The border named in paragraph 1 runs from point M further in a northeast direction to a point between the GDR, Poland, and the Kingdom of Denmark, which will be agreed upon.

Article 5

(1) The course from the north to the ports of Sz cecin and Swinoujscie throughout its whole length, and the anchoring positions, are within the territorial waters of Poland or on the open sea.

(2) The section of the northern course to the ports of Sz cecin and Swinoujscie which lies to the east of the outer limit of the territorial waters of the GDR as laid down in Article 3 of this treaty, and also anchoring position No. 3, are not continental shelf, fishing zone or any possible exclusive economic zone of the GDR.

Article 6

Shipping on the shipping lanes and headings to the ports of Sz cecin and Swinoujscie which lie to the east of the island of Ruegen in the territorial waters of the GDR takes place in accordance with the generally accepted principles of maritime international law. For the passage of warships and state-owned vessels sailing under the Polish flag no permission from the GDR is necessary. Polish leisure craft have right of passage with the approval of the GDR, after this has been issued by means of the relevant process.

Article 7

(1) The border lines set out in Articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 of this treaty are marked on the chart issued by the maritime hydrographic service of the GDR and that issued by the hydrographic office of the Polish navy, which are part of this treaty.

(2) The coordinates mentioned in this treaty are based on the Rauenberg system.

Article 8

With the coming into force of this treaty the relevant coordinates of borders from earlier treaties concluded between the GDR and Poland are determined anew.

Article 9

In accordance with Article 102 of the United Nations charter this treaty will be registered with the secretariat of the United Nations.

Article 10

This treaty requires ratification and will come into force on the day on which the ratification documents are exchanged, which will take place in Warsaw.

Drawn up in Berlin on 22 May 1989 in two originals, one in German and one in Polish, whereby both texts are equally valid.

Jaruzelski Completes Visit

LD2205161189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1527 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish Peoples Republic, ended his 1 day visit to the GDR and began his journey home. The Polish statesman and his entourage were warmly seen off at the Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR Council of State, on whose invitation Jaruzelski visited the country.

Editorial Terms PRC-USSR Summit as 'Historic'

AU2205115989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 20-21 May 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Event of International Importance"]

[Text] The results of the 4-day Chinese-Soviet summit are such that it can justifiably be called a historic event. This is understood by everybody who has read the speeches and documents published in our paper, including the joint Chinese-Soviet final communique.

The representatives of the two enormous socialist states, the largest country and the most populous country on earth, have initiated a new period of bilateral relations. They are determined by respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in the other's affairs, equality, mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence. During their meeting, Deng Xiaoping and Mikhail Gorbachev agreed that this meeting has put an end to the past and opened up the future. Both peoples, who have tackled great new tasks of socialist construction under the leadership of their Communist Parties, will undoubtedly benefit very much from the various forms of cooperation.

But they are not the only ones. The new relationship between the PRC and the USSR, which was affirmed at the Beijing summit, has an effect on the entire international development. The attitude of these large socialist states toward the basic problems of our time is extremely important for world affairs. Although there are differences in opinion on individual questions between Moscow and Beijing, the great degree of agreement on the most important question of our time, that is, constantly strengthening peace by consistently continuing the disarmament process, and on other global problems is very important. Thus, the meeting in Beijing represents a success for the cause of world peace.

The results of the summit have produced joy and satisfaction in the GDR. The communists and certainly all GDR citizens are glad that our Soviet and Chinese friends and comrades have normalized their relations and upgraded them to a friendly new level. We are linked

by joint scientific world view and joint ideals. Precisely in view of the differences in the concrete relations under which socialism is established in the individual countries today, solidarity, the exchange of experiences, and close cooperation between the communist parties and the socialist countries are especially important. The results of the Chinese-Soviet summit constitute an increase in power for the cause of socialism. At the same time, they are an expression of the certainty that the future belongs to socialism.

FRG's Rau Stresses Need for Contacts
LD2205104989 Hamburg DPA in German
0951 GMT 22 May 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—North Rhine-Westphalian Prime Minister Johannes Rau (SPD), speaking in East Berlin, has stressed that even in politically difficult times, the continuation of talks and contacts between the two German states is indispensable. Late on Sunday evening, Rau said that he has always favored "building bridges even when this is hard." [passage omitted]

Rau was speaking after a concert by the Duesseldorf Symphony Orchestra at a reception in the presence of GDR Environment Minister Hans Reichelt, and of Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and culture minister. The prime minister backed further contacts and meetings and "making the life of people more human, nothing more, nothing less." Rau also greeted "a number of friends from church circles," in particular Bishop Gottfried Forck of Berlin-Brandenburg. GDR Minister Hoffman, referred to the differing social systems of the two German states and to the "pursuit of the joint European home." With respect to German history, he added that no one need be afraid of the Germans today.

High Abstention in 7 May Elections Noted
AU2205174889 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
22 May 89 p 16

[Unattributed article: "Bad News"]

[Text] According to the leadership of the Evangelical Church of the GDR, some 15 to 25 percent of those eligible to vote in the large urban areas abstained from voting in the 7 May local elections. Some 7.5 to 15 percent of those who did turn out in the medium-sized and large towns did not vote for the single list of the National Front, the leadership of the Evangelical Church notes. According to the official result, the election turnout was 98.78 percent and, at the national average, only 1.15 percent of the votes were cast against the single list. The leadership of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg has instructed its superintendents to call for information from the local authorities about this discrepancy. Moreover, the church leadership has guaranteed legal protection to all those GDR citizens who have gotten into trouble because of their actions during

the elections, such as protesting against suspected election fraud. According to Egon Krenz, chairman of the election commission, SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Chairman Erich Honecker was quite distressed about the improved, official version of the result. The officially admitted 1.15 percent of dissenting votes are the highest percentage since the 1950 elections. At the last local elections in 1984, the number of dissenting votes amounted to only 0.12 percent. Said Politburo member Krenz in a small circle: "Our leader cannot cope with such bad news any more."

DKP, SED Establish Disarmament Working Group
AU2205172989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 19 May 89 p 5

[Text] Stuttgart (ADN)—A joint working group, entitled "Struggle for Peace and Disarmament—Arms Conversion," of the Baden-Wuerttemberg District Committee of the German Communist Party [DKP] and the Dresden Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] was established in Stuttgart on 17 and 18 May 89. The DKP and SED representatives unanimously expressed their intention to develop their parties' joint points of view on the struggle for peace and disarmament and for arms conversion, and to propose and support initiatives in this field. They agreed on the main problems as regards the substance of peace, disarmament, and conversion.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 May
AU2005132689

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 12 to 18 May reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a rally of the Free German Youth in Berlin on 13 May: Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Hans Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohls, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolkowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mielke, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueller, Margarete Mueller, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde. (16 May, pp 5-6)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a youth rally in a stadium in Berlin on 13 May: Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohls, Werner Eberlein, Werner Jarowinsky, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolkowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueller, and Margarete Mueller. (16 May, p 7)

The following Politburo members and candidate members conducted talks with members of the Free German Youth in Berlin on 13 May: Hermann Axen, Hans Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mielke, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueller, Margarete Mueller, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde. (16 May, p 6)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a dance in Berlin on 13 May: Hermann Axen, Egon Krenz, Siegfried Lorenz, and Horst Sindermann. (16 May, p 7)

Politburo Members Erich Honecker and Erwin Krenz attended a meeting with 200 youth representatives in the Central Committee building in Berlin on 13 May. (16 May, pp 5-6)

Politburo Members Willi Stoph and Harry Tisch attended an award ceremony for youth collectives in Berlin on 12 May. (13-14 May, p 2)

Willi Stoph, Politburo member and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received the outgoing Greek, and the new Ecuadoran and Burmese ambassadors in Berlin on 17 May. (18 May, p 2) He also received the Finnish culture minister for talks in Berlin on 17 May. (18 May, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a wreath laying ceremony with Ethiopia's Mengistu Haile Mariam in Berlin on 17 May. (18 May, p 1)

Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a PRC delegation from Guangdong for talks in Berlin on 11 May. (12 May, p 2)

Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Su Xing, editor in chief of PRC journal for talks in Berlin on 11 May. (12 May, p 2)

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended the "Meeting Between Three Generations" in Berlin on 13 May. (16 May, p 4)

Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member, presented awards to members of the National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany in Suhl on 11 May. (12 May, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Belgrade LCY official in Berlin on 17 May. (18 May, p 2)

Alfred Neumann, Politburo member, inspected railroad works at the railroad junction near Frankfurt/Oder on 17 May. (18 May, p 3)

Gerhard Schuerer, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, conducted talks with Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Berlin on 17 May. (18 May, p 2)

Horst Sindermann, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, received outgoing Mexican ambassador in Berlin on 11 May. (12 May, p 2) He also met with youth representatives in the People's Chamber building in Berlin on 13 May. (16 May, p 6)

Harry Tisch, Politburo member and chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation, conducted talks with an FRG trade union delegation in Berlin on 12 May. (13-14 May, p 2) He also conducted talks with Pavlos Dinglis, secretary general of the All-Cypriot Trade union Federation, in Berlin on 17 May. (18 May, p 3)

Janos Berecz Interviewed on Political Career
*LD2005214789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 20 May 89*

[Text] The man whom you will hear in the next interview still had a good chance a year ago of becoming the next leader of the country. Then he was analyzing how socialist pluralism could be achieved in the conditions of a one-party system. Since the April Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee session Janos Berecz has not been a member of the Politburo. He is still a Central Committee secretary, for the time being at any rate. In the following interview he talks about his earlier views and his present position. The interviewer is Henrik Havas.

[Begin recording] [Havas] I am sure you know that behind your back you were called, among other things, the Hungarian Ligachev. Many people think that your leaving the political leadership is in part connected with the fact that Ligachev's attack against Gorbachev in September last year failed. When you read that certain letter at the Central Committee session it was said that you had joined the ideological counterattack in the Soviet Union and planned to do something similar in Hungary.

[Berecz] First of all, I knew of the term Hungarian Ligachev. It was invented in the Western, especially the U.S., press. But since you have mentioned the letter, let me tell you quite frankly what motivated me to read it. After the letter was read, this rather lukewarm Central Committee meeting became heated; first those spoke who agreed with the letter, which then made it possible for others to speak, one after the other, and thus the debate became more meaningful and eventually a consensus was reached that the letter was wrong, or that inasmuch as it contained some truth, it was a partial truth only. Finally, the Central Committee session supported the reform, and I also contributed to this with my speech.

[Havas] Well, this is an extremely clever explanation but I think it was very risky, at least as regards the outcome. What the average person thought was that the reading of this Nina Andreyevna-type letter was an open appeal for an ideological switch. It seems that not even practicing politicians grasped its true significance.

[Berecz] The publication of Nina Andreyevna's letter could have resulted in an ideological switch, but also in a counterattack by glasnost and perestroika. This is how it turned out, both there and here alike.

[Havas] I hope you will not be offended if I say that as a novice I would have accepted what you say, since you say it so persuasively. But since I have been a journalist for 10 years, and on top of it a staff member of radio, that radio which you have rebuked so often, I know perfectly well that you were a very hard man and that the so-called hand-directed press period which we very much disliked

was associated with your name. This practice, for which we were very upset with you, completely contradicts those reform ideas you have now put forward.

[Berecz] This is an illusion, and I think a mistaken one. I never criticized a single program at an editorial conference; I would not have regarded it as correct behavior. In those days such things happened a lot; it was not I who did it. [words indistinct]

[Havas] Imre Pozsgay said that there was not a single factor responsible for your fall, that factors encompassing your career were responsible for it.

[Berecz] Before 1985-86 I had done nothing for which I would be especially accountable. I committed my mistake in the course of 1986, when on the 30th anniversary of the 1956 events—let me not say either popular uprising or counterrevolution—I did not recognize the need to be more moderate, tolerant, to reflect the spirit of some sort of reconciliation. It is this that I regard as the biggest mistake I committed. As regards the fact that I clashed with writers, groups of intellectuals, well, if the time will not arrive when it is possible to argue, to debate, without hurting individuals, to make mistakes in this or that respect, then things will turn out badly. But the mistake to which I have referred is more serious.

[Havas] Many people say that after the 1988 party conference there were three strong men instead of one: Karoly Grosz, Imre Pozsgay, and Janos Berecz. Was it a historical necessity that first one should leave the triumvirate and then someone else should leave? Can your departure be reduced simply to personal antagonisms, a power struggle?

[Berecz] Less to personal antagonisms. After all, it is views and actions that clash here. But the fact that I went first is perfectly natural because I was the one moved to the center first, in the direction of reform, and neither regarded me fully as his supporter or ally. Thus, this had to happen. I think it is logical that I was the one who left and I would have been surprised had it been one of the others.

[Havas] How did you feel personally about having to leave the Politburo? I think you know that public opinion regards you as a man who does not deny that he likes power.

[Berecz] I think that this is a complete misunderstanding. I have had no such motivation for decades, at least 2 decades. It is very difficult to prove this, but when I said at the general assembly of the Journalists Association in January that this reform process might sweep me aside, I had faith and worked for the party remaining and leading it [words indistinct].

[Havas] On your door it still says: secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. Yet you have already indicated in an interview that you do not regard this as final.

[Berez] When it was said that I would not be renominated to the Politburo, nothing was said about the Central Committee secretary post. But I was offered New York—representative to the United Nations—that is, quote unquote, to go abroad. It followed logically from this that sooner or later the Central Committee secretary post would also be brought into question. I do not want to work abroad. I do not want to leave this country; I would like to be at home during the years when the turnabout takes place which began at the May 1988 party conference. It is, of course, an open question: Having remained at home, what will happen about this function? This is not primarily my problem. It is up to the Politburo to make a recommendation. So far, there has not been an acceptable proposal.

[Havas] Obviously there are those who say that you were afraid of appearing before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly.

[Berez] I am not afraid of such things. If I could not face myself, then of course I would not be willing to face others.

[Havas] When did you learn that you had to leave the Politburo?

[Berez] Two weeks before the Central Committee session I guessed it. After all, people's behavior changes when they learn of something that they do not want to tell you or must not tell you. But you can guess from that; after all, I am not a novice in this profession. I learned that I would not be nominated for the Politburo the morning of the day before the Central Committee session. No particular justification was given, only that in the course of consultations with about 500 people the majority did not nominate me.

[Havas] Mihaly Jasso, member of the Politburo, remarked in the paper MAI NAP that the nominating commission had not put your name forward. Nonetheless, you more or less asked for a vote of no confidence in yourself when you permitted yourself to be nominated.

[Berez] The truth is that when a list is approved on the basis of the nominating commission's recommendation, that is when those people receive enough votes to get on to the list, there is scope for nominating others as well. Five or six names were put forward, if I remember correctly, among them mine. I and another member of the Central Committee did not protest our nomination. I am familiar with this game: to resign with a great show of modesty, to withdraw your name; then this counts in your favor in the eyes of the nominating commission, as you do not force the Central Committee to have a secret vote with only nine names remaining. Two of us did not do this and we received a third of the votes; thus we did not get on the list. I did not regard this as a vote of no confidence. I do not like these games, to resign in a spectacular fashion. I was considered and one-third voted in my favor. I expressed my thanks and (?left).

[Havas] How do you regard the events that occurred in connection with the post of editor in chief of NEPSZABADSAG? According to gossip, Karoly Grosz went to the editorial offices of NEPSZABADSAG to prepare for your appointment as editor in chief but the collective's stand stopped him from nominating you for this post.

[Berez] My name was not put forward as a proposal. They probably guessed on the basis of gossip that this might happen and the collective there took a stand that the editor in chief should be chosen from their ranks. When I learned of this, I was asked whether I wanted a dual nomination. I did not want this. If they are happy with the one they nominated, I am pleased. I would like NEPSZABADSAG to regain its former prestige. In the past, this was partly ex officio prestige; now it has to fight for its prestige.

[Havas] How long have you been waiting for your future to be decided? I ask because obviously it must be a burden on the Politburo and the political leadership as well—to quote Mihaly Jasso again—that a talented man must be found a place.

[Berez] I am not waiting; I will fulfill this function until there is another offer, until I go somewhere else to work. In my opinion, I did not commit mistakes that were so serious that I could not carry out my work. However, I think that the party's relations with the press demand a new man here. As to whether it is necessary to relieve me of my job as Central Committee secretary, this is what the Politburo has to decide.

[Havas] Many people think that if there is a party split, Janos Berez might return to the political leadership. After all, it is obvious that now, in the present configuration or in the present situation of the party, his presence could even be seen as a disturbing factor. But once the fronts are clarified, Janos Berez could immediately find his own place. I do not know what you think, but obviously many people believe that you would be on the fundamentalist side.

[Berez] Let me say the following. I would be very sorry if whatever sort of return—let me put this return into quotation marks—by me depended on a party split. I say this on the basis of profound conviction. The trial of strength must be carried out inside the party. By this I do not mean the entire 780,000 party members. I am sure that many will leave; I do not know how many. But if the party splits, will society split into two, between those pro-reform and anti-reform? The program must be that in the elections this program should win and should be realized eventually, say by '95; I do not know of course how long the transition phase will be. I do not know whether you understand the logic of this. If we split, then the country must also split in this respect. This would not be a good thing. There is, of course, sure to be some loss of membership. In society there are also those who do

not support the reform. The important thing is that the majority should be on the side of reform and should support it, if not in other ways, at least with their votes. [end recording]

Imre Pozsgay Assesses Reforms, Kadar, System
AU2105170989 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG
in German 21 May 89 pp 4-5

[Kurt Seinitz report: "The Old System Cannot Be Reformed"]

[Text] Dismantling the Iron Curtain, a multiparty system, free elections: The fascinating and breathtaking, peaceful changes in Hungary, which go beyond any changes in all other Communist countries, have one "engine"—Imre Pozsgay, the leader of the radical reform wing in the Communist Party; in Hungary there is already discussion about replacing Communist Party chief Karoly Grosz with the popular Imre Pozsgay.

During his stay in Vienna, Imre Pozsgay talked to NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG with surprising frankness about his courageous concept and about the dangers that might threaten Hungary's path. The dramatic events in China and the Chinese leadership's attempt to reestablish the old order by force let Hungary's democratic revolution appear in a special light.

Imre Pozsgay said about the planned free elections, at which the Communist Party might lose its majority: "Of course, there is only one correct consequence of the pledge to the principle of free elections, namely to accept the possibility of losing elections and of being forced into opposition. However, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) is firmly determined to struggle for the majority or to preserve the ability to govern by forming a coalition. I see good chances for this. You must not overlook the fact that the party, which has to date exercised power in a monopolistic and monolithic way, has put itself at the head of the process of democratization."

Coalition Government in Hungary?

Imre Pozsgay: "Even though we are willing to do everything so that all parties can go to the forthcoming elections with equal chances, it is impossible to simply eliminate 40 years of rule by a monopolistic party. In detail, this means: Today our party has the experienced cadres, the experience of governing, a comprehensive organization, and so on. It cannot be in the interest of the opposition to abolish all these structures, because this would create a dangerous vacuum of power. Therefore, I would say: The first free elections will serve to make a certain development of parties in the society emerge and to introduce pluralistic development. In addition, we want to introduce our experience in forms of cooperation, for which we already exercised a guiding role in the past. The government is to be extended on the basis of a coalition to which we invite the other political forces now."

"Karl Marx' Hair Would Stand on End"

"Concerning the criticism by conservative forces who accuse us of giving up Hungary's 'socialist identity,' I can only say: Let us draw up a balance sheet of these 'socialist values'! It would be identical with terms such as stagnation, shortages, lines in front of shops, and so on. If this is to be socialism, then we naturally do not live up to such ideas. If I had more time now I could prove that our ideas are closer to Karl Marx' ideas of socialism than the ideas of those forces who level accusations against us now. If today Karl Marx could see what his ideas have been turned into in the East, his hair would stand on end! And one more thing: In my view, this old system is not only exhausted but it cannot be reformed, either. Therefore, it must be totally changed, and a new model has to be established!"

Toward the Socialist International

"Comparisons between our goals and that of the Socialist International are legitimate. There is no socialism without democracy. Socialism is there for the people and not the other way around; there is no future goal that would be worth restricting man's freedom even by one iota. The new constitution will adhere to these principles. The old Constitution was mainly an achievement of the translators. I can certainly imagine that we will enter into close cooperation with the Socialist International, even though not necessarily as a member. Functionaries of the Socialist International are well-liked guests in Budapest now."

Danger to Hungary as to the CSSR in 1986?

"There is no doubt that there are forces that have difficulties in resigning themselves to the changes and that are also interested in the continuation of the old conditions. However, since they do not have any base among the masses and cannot expect public support, they are not a direct danger. Contrary to 1968, when the Stalinist system still had a certain base, this system is completely discredited today. Thus, there is no alternative."

Question: "Mr Pozsgay, you were the first Hungarian leader who publicly described the 1956 tragedy as a 'popular uprising.' Do you also distance yourself from Hungary's participation in the invasion of the CSSR in 1968?"

Radical Break With the Past

Pozsgay: "It is the fate of the reformers that their predecessors conducted invasions and the successors have to look for explanations. This is exactly that inherited burden which we have to bear in view of the elections. This is the risk. Therefore, I do not see any chances at the elections if we do not radically cancel continuity; and we have to make it clear to the people that today they see the people who did not participate in the 1968 invasion."

The Tragic Events Surrounding Janos Kadar

"Janos Kadar earned great merits in his time. His name is inseparably linked with the history of successful consolidation in the 1960's. He supported the first reform initiatives and introduced a new agricultural policy. His achievement was the establishment of a minimum consensus in society. The criticism that is leveled against him at present concerns the tragic fact that he was not able to change the system per se."

"He Was a Product of the System"

Pozsgay: "Since I myself had many conflicts with him, I can justifiably say that it is not a question of finding a scapegoat, even though there is no doubt that Janos Kadar also made personal mistakes. He, too, was a product of this system in a certain way."

Terrible Starting Conditions

"We are often compared with Spain and the peaceful transition from Franco's dictatorship to democracy, but there is one enormous difference: In Spain at least the economy worked under Franco! In our system we only have the evil caricature of an economy. Therefore, our economy will still need some time to get into motion, and it will do so only if social democracy has fully developed."

"Defying Hundreds of Thousands of Dangers"

"Today we have the chance to start for new shores. We have to cross a torrent. Where we are now, a fire is burning. We have to act quickly. We have to cross the river quickly. Small stones break the surface of the river, which we can use, but one has to run quickly because those who hesitate fall into the river. Therefore, one can cross the river only with rapid leaps. Paraphrasing Dante: 'Defying hundreds of thousands of dangers, we have reached the borders of a new world. Now we must not turn back.'"

Views New Constitution

AU2205124489 Vienna PROFIL in German
22 May 89 pp 46-48

[Interview with State Minister Imre Pozsgay by Michael Siegert in Vienna; date not given: "40 Years of a State of Emergency"]

[Text] PROFIL: Mr State Minister, important changes in the system are currently taking place in Hungary. One of them is the establishment of the office of president of the Republic. You have repeatedly been cited as a potential candidate for this office. According to the draft constitution, the president will have important powers: He will propose the head of government; he can send laws of parliament, which he does not consider correct, to the Supreme Court; and he is permitted to hold referendums—the Nagymaros power plant would be such a

case. Thus, he will take over powers which have been held by the Politburo so far. Why does Hungary now need such an office of president?

Pozsgay: The starting point is the disentanglement of the close relations between the party and the state, the abolition of the so-called party state. If Hungary wants to become a true parliamentary democracy and real rights of freedom are to be guaranteed by the constitution, the party can no longer exercise any powers under public law. Then the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) will only be one of several parties, which are struggling for the governmental power in a multiparty system. The state has to guarantee the separation of powers in this respect. It must be made sure that the legislative, the executive, and the judicial powers are separate. The balance between them must be ensured by the president in a certain way. Therefore the draft constitution proposes a president with strong, but still limited powers.

PROFIL: Is this state present to be MSZMP general secretary at the same time? In the Soviet Union both offices have been united.

Pozsgay: On the contrary, our new constitution will demand that the president does not have any party functions.

PROFIL: Does this not also harbor dangers? The result will then depend very much on his character.

Pozsgay: There have been experiences in Europe in this respect. Kekkonen and Mitterrand have demonstrated how important personality is.

PROFIL: Would you be tempted to take over this office?

Pozsgay: If it corresponds to the will of the majority.

PROFIL: At the reformers' conference in Kecskemet in mid-April you spoke of the danger of splitting the party. You said that even though the majority of the MSZMP members is in the camp of your reform wing, you would like to prevent a splitting of the party.

Pozsgay: Yes, I want to prevent it. I was criticized by many friends for this because they gained the impression that with this I had stepped on the reform brake. I think that in the meantime I have been able to convince them of the opposite. I am against a unity such as in the church. I know about the moods in the party, but in a situation where the other parties have not yet been able to consolidate themselves, have not yet found their identity, and have not yet been able to present their programs, the splitting of the MSZMP would lead to a power vacuum. This would be a defeat—at least a temporary one—for the reform wing. It would lose positions of power.

PROFIL: You are not afraid that you might suffer Boris Yeltsin's fate?

Pozsgay: No, I do not think so. I think that my position in the party and the government is different from the one he had. I think that I can continue my struggle in the center of the power.

PROFIL: Individual groups are still banned within the party. "Platforms" are permitted. On the one side there is the platform of the reformers, on the other the militant-conservative groups, such as the Ferenc-Muennich Society. In the middle there is the so-called "Order Party." How will this range of groups develop until the extraordinary party conference in autumn?

Pozsgay: I hope that the reform wing will continue to advance in the near future. It is very active. The reform course has the chance to get to the center of the party, because it is already in the center among the people.

PROFIL: Recently Kadar has been blamed for the misdevelopment of the past 15 years. Now, however, there are already voices who say that the mistakes of the past 2 years also have to be criticized. (Footnote 1) (During this time Karoly Grosz determined the policy, first [since June 1987] as premier, and then [since May 1988] as MSZMP general secretary)

Pozsgay: Actually, this development could have been predicted, in particular since the new party leadership has not had the strength to break with the old policy and to settle with the old mistakes. The crisis shows us that we have to radically end this misdevelopment and to correctly assess the past period. It was Kadar's tragedy that even though he was able to create consolidation and a minimum of consensus with the people in the 1960's, he did not realize that the basic structure of the system remained Stalinist and that therefore, there was the danger of relapse. His personal mistake was the fact that he did not realize in time that one has to hand over the marshal's baton to someone else. In a certain way it is also a defect of the system that the person holding the supreme power is considered infallible and that there is no public that is permitted to criticize him.

PROFIL: At the end of April party chief Karoly Grosz spoke of setting up an emergency government. Obviously, there was a conflict in the Politburo and he was not able to impose his view. Head of government Miklos Nemeth then insisted on noting publicly that he was against this measures.

Pozsgay: Indeed, Karoly Grosz publicly spoke about such an economic state of emergency. However, this statement was misinterpreted by some people. I am convinced that he did not think of a military solution, of a military state of emergency.

PROFIL: Thus, he did not think of Jaruzelski's model of 1981?

Pozsgay: No, he probably meant radical and determined measures to maintain our solvency, to balance the balance of payments, and similar things. I think it is unfortunate to call such measures a state of emergency. I think that the Hungarian economy has been in a state of emergency for 40 years and that now it is necessary to get it out of this state of emergency. Therefore, he does not meet with any support for this idea.

PROFIL: With such a policy the government would contradict the orientation toward the market, which is now considered the supreme principle.

Pozsgay: This is exactly what I mean.

PROFIL: If the party conference chooses a new leadership in autumn—how would you act if you are offered the office of party chief?

Pozsgay: First of all, at the basis of the party there is a need to legitimize its policy. Therefore, it has been repeatedly demanded to clear up the party's position through unambiguous statements. concerning your actual question, I would probably try to convince my comrades that there might be another task that is waiting for me.

PROFIL: Thus, you would prefer to be president of the Republic over MSZMP general secretary?

Pozsgay: In Hungarian politics it is not customary to answer such questions. I like a post where I can make my independence compatible with the task.

PROFIL: Does this also have a connection with the fact that, according to the latest polls, the MSZMP would gain only 31 percent of the votes?

Pozsgay: There is still another poll, which said that it would gain 35 to 36 percent. In a crisis like the one in which Hungary is at present—for which the party is solely responsible, by the way—I think that this proportion of votes is remarkable. It would be sufficient to form a government. However, I think that the MSZMP could still improve its chances if it fulfills three preconditions: First, radically coming to terms with the past and the burdens it is bearing; second, an election program that is based on reality and expresses the real needs of the people; third, nominating politicians who are able to represent such a program in a credible way. The party has to pursue this struggle within its own ranks, otherwise it does not have any chance to win.

PROFIL: Will there be free election? A few months ago you said that you want to conclude an agreement with the other parties before that, for instance by putting up a joint list. How do you see this today?

Pozsgay: In the past I thought it necessary to achieve an election agreement and to set down certain proportions in this agreement, as had been done in Poland. However,

I think that the political development in Hungary has passed beyond that. Here we do not have a big trade union but a real struggle between political parties. Therefore, today I say: Free elections must determine who will get the power. I see good possibilities for a success of the MSZMP. If it does not live up to the expectations under these conditions, an election agreement would not be able to save it, either.

PROFIL: Will there be "roundtable" negotiations—like the ones in Poland—in Hungary before the elections? The opposition is calling for a confrontation with the state party at two opposite sides of the table.

Pozsgay: I hope that we will soon find the right piece of furniture to sit down together. I think that sooner or later the government has to join this dialogue. Then the MSZMP will sit at one side, the opposition at another, the independent organizations, which tend toward the MSZMP (SZOT Trade Union, Patriotic People's Front), at the third side, and the government at the fourth. Thus, the table will be rectangular.

PROFIL: Mr Pozsgay, you say that Hungary has to prove that it is mature enough for Europe. This sounds as if your were suffering from a inferiority complex.

Pozsgay: This is an important task, but behind it there is, of course, the continuity of 11 centuries. Europe cannot be interested in having eastern central Europe, to which I also count Hungary, turn into a permanent hotbed of crises. Therefore, I think that Europe is interested in the success of the Hungarian experiment. Being European means for us to become a constitutional state and to completely fulfill the Helsinki agreement. You in Austria sometimes suffer from the fact that we have already implemented some of these measures.

PROFIL: You spoke about "central Europe as an intermediate stage" in your rapprochement to Europe. Do you mean that Austria should help you to join the European Free Trade Association, and only then would you approach the EC?

Pozsgay: Austria could certainly help us in this respect. But I think that with its current burden of crisis Hungary is not yet capable of integration. Therefore, we have to reach the intermediate stage of central Europe as a first step, where we can come to grips with this crisis.

PROFIL: When the term "central Europe" was coined by Friedrich Naumann at the beginning of our century, he meant the German sphere of influence.

Pozsgay: When we say central Europe we think of Austria, Switzerland, and Italy, with whom we are cultivating good contacts.

Committee on Show Trials Holds 1st Session

*LD1805102989 Budapest MTI in English
2105 GMT 17 May 89*

[Text] Budapest, May 17 (MTI)—The committee set up by the Council of Ministers to re-examine the show trial cases has held its first session.

At a press conference on Wednesday, it was reported that the 37-strong body is examining cases between the years 1945 and 1962, which, it can be presumed with great probability, contain show trial elements. The committee's tasks also include the legal and historical analysis of these cases, and making proposals to eliminate the consequences of the infringement of law.

Jozsef Foldvari, lawyer/co-chairman of the committee, said that the examinations are focussing on so-called political crimes, however, the re-examination is to be extended to other crimes as well. The number of political cases amounts to about 30,000, but, together with the proceedings that originated from political motives, the number of cases to be examined can be estimated at several hundreds of thousands. The committee is to prepare its report to the government by March 31, 1990.

Documents from several cases were either destroyed, or are not in Hungary. For instance, the 1951 documents of the Kadar trial were destroyed, and only the documents of his rehabilitation trial exist. The trial of Prince-Primate Jozsef Mindszenty and his associates is to also be re-examined. To date, 50 of the 80 files on the case have been examined.

Documents are expected from the Soviet Union for the re-examination of Imre Nagy and his associates. The committee wishes to receive the Hungarian-Yugoslav and the Hungarian-Romanian inter-governmental agreements from the Hungarian Government, together with the documents for the period October 23 to November 4, 1956. The Ministry of the Interior has handed over 74 tapes of the proceedings to the chief public prosecutor's office. Although the June, 1958, trial was also recorded on film, this has not yet come to light. Should it not be found, an investigation will be opened into when and where it could have disappeared.

Nagy, Associates 'Victims'

*LD2205202389 Budapest MTI in English
1633 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Budapest, May 2 (MTI)—On the basis of the documents explored it can be ascertained that Imre Nagy and his associates were the victims of show trials of political motives—said Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on Monday in Eger, in his lecture at the Eger Tobacco factory.

Mr Horn was speaking at the invitation of the Eger City reform circle of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party]. He also discussed the international reception of the Hungarian reform and answered questions.

Szuos Explains Views

*LD2205214389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Matyas Szuos, the speaker of the National Assembly, has arrived home from Morocco. You can read about his talks there in tomorrow's *MAGYAR HIRLAP*. He spoke to Andras Kerekes about an important issue of our domestic political life.

[Begin recording] [Kerekes] Your name is present in the international press not only because of your trip to Morocco but also because of your statement on Rome television, in which you urged the political and legal rehabilitation of Imre Nagy and his associates, explaining that half solutions are poor solutions.

[Szuos] I gave an interview to the representative of Italian state television during the last session of the National Assembly. It seems that it was broadcast while I was in Morocco. However, this does not alter the essence of the matter. It is indeed my view—and this is essentially in harmony with the ideas of the party leadership and the government—that we must put Imre Nagy and his associates in their proper place in Hungarian history.

What is involved here is that they became the victims of a show trial, that is, the victims of a political concept. One could formulate this in other ways as well, but I think that this is the essence of the matter. We have to think through the whole matter. By now there is more information and documents at our disposal; the Hungarian documentation has already been put at the disposal of the supreme prosecutor. Thus, he can raise an objection on legal grounds. Besides this, certain foreign documents, from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, are also at our disposal. On this issue we must face up to our past.

They must be rehabilitated legally and politically. The entire matter must be reviewed and I think that what happens on 16 June is of great importance. Thus, Nagy and his immediate associates must be handled appropriately as regards their human dignity. They were victims and the time has come for us to take action on this matter. I think that it is necessary that official statements be voiced regarding this question before 16 June. [end recording]

Horn Comments on Nagy Trial

*LD2205224689 Budapest MTI in English
2106 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Budapest, May 2 (MTI)—The trial of Imre Nagy and his martyr associates, just as the verdict, belonged in the line of violations of the law. On the basis of the

evidence at the disposal of the Historical Sub-Committee of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee it can unanimously be stated: A show trial of political inducement was carried out against them. And if this is the case, which it is, then it is by all means necessary and pressing for society and the nation to serve justice to Imre Nagy and his associates, said Gyula Horn, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and foreign minister, at a political debate forum organized on Monday [22 May] by the Eger City Reform Circle of the HSWP.

Mr Horn said that knowledge of the facts of the past, their correct evaluation is one of the fundamental conditions of renewal. A great assistance for this today is that the Hungarian efforts coincide with the exploration of the past, and the de-Stalinization processes that have begun in the Soviet Union. At the same time, exploration is made slightly difficult by the fact that, apart from the Soviet Union and Poland, this work has not begun in our alliance system.

In connection with the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates on June 16, Mr Horn warned: Justice should be served to the victims in a way that it not incite national conflict, hostility, but that it serve reconciliation by strengthening the dignity of the nation.

Discussing the international connections of 1956, Mr Horn said: From October 30, Imre Nagy was in continuous contact with the Soviet leaders in Hungary, including Ambassador Andropov. He coordinated all his foreign policy steps, including leaving the Warsaw Treaty and the declaration of neutrality, with them. International factors also played a great role in all that happened after November 4, and not only the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, but mainly the conduct of the other allies. As is known, Romania wished to participate in the creation of order with troops, the others demanded a physical annihilation of the leaders of the uprising.

Discussing the current changes, Mr Horn said: There is no sense in questioning the need of a rapid transformation in the case of a system that has not proven viable, in a country which dropped from the 24th to the 48th place on the 'world ranking list' in the past decades. The genuine question is how we can carry out renewal in a way that we eliminate the danger of a possible explosion, Mr Horn noted.

In answer to a question on Hungary's alliance commitment, Mr Horn said: Our efforts, the change in orientation cannot mean a break with our allies, cannot mean disregard for our alliance obligations. All Hungary would like to achieve is that an end be put to the enforcement of prestige considerations in the relations maintained with the socialist countries. We reject the practice which, under the slogan of proletarian internationalism, and socialist internationalism, laid the basis for interference into the internal affairs of each other. However, this practice has nothing to do with the Warsaw Treaty, the

alliance commitment in general. Hungary emphasizes that it needs calm, normal relations based on reciprocal advantages with its neighbours and allies. This includes both cooperation and good relation, and the occasional clashing of views, Mr Horn said.

Hungarian internal and foreign policy both strive to ensure the country's sovereignty. On the one hand, this means the right to choose our own road, on the other hand, that we wish to take and strengthen only with those steps within the Warsaw Treaty that are in harmony with the common interests which belong to the authority of the alliance, all other steps belong to the sovereignty of our country.

Mr Horn stressed that the attainment of neutrality is a long-range goal which becomes timely at the time when the opposing military blocks are dissolved.

Nemeth on Bush Visit, Nagymaros Dam, Economy
LD2205221189 Budapest MTI in English
2032 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—The session of independent MP's of the National Assembly was addressed on Monday [22 May] by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. Among others, he stressed that Hungarian economy will not be able to solve its problems from its own strength. A major change in emphasis is required in the field of external assistance, namely that the ensurance of financial loans should be replaced by the involvement of working capital and the founding of joint ventures. And this demands a radical property reform. In its three-year reform programme, to be prepared by autumn, the government offers the direction for economic and political transformation, for the peaceful transition.

Hungary's gross external debt at the end of the first quarter of 1989 was 17,000 million, the net external debt was 11,100 million dollars. The sum of claims was 5,800 million dollars. Of these, 2,700 million dollars can be termed as irrevocable debt. Hungary also had 600 million dollars in non-financial claims, thus the net interest-bearing debt totalled 14,500 million dollars in March.

The sum of the total domestic state debt is 950,000 million forints, of which interest has to be repaid for 490,000 million. Of the total debt, the accumulated deficit of the state budget is 630,000 million forints.

Discussing inflation, the prime minister stressed that the government absolutely does not intend to surpass the planned rate of 15-16 per cent. True, Mr Nemeth added, the movement of the free market prices can influence this. At the same time, Mr Nemeth termed the trade union forecast of 17 to 20 per cent as the rate of inflation to be psychosis inducing.

With respect to the visit of U.S. President George Bush to Hungary, the prime minister said that preparations for the visit have already begun. He said: President Bush

will not arrive with a credit package, at the same time, discussions will be held about an economic cooperation conception that consists of 22 points.

Mr Nemeth said he would review the issue of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage at his talks in Czechoslovakia on Wednesday, and at his talks to be held with the Austrian chancellor. The Hungarian Government is ready to jointly examine the international contracts related to the project.

Mr Nemeth said he had not experienced efforts from the part of the opposition that they wish to intentionally obstruct the activity of the government. The prime minister said that the views of the opposition movements are a major control for the government. He termed it extremely important that issues of the transition be jointly stressed.

Nemeth Visit to Prague Planned for 24 May
AU2205133889 Budapest MTI in English
1540 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, prime minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, is to pay a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia on May 24. Mr Nemeth is meeting an invitation from Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Trade Union Delegation To Accept Walesa Invitation
LD2105202989 Budapest MTI in English
1914 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—At the invitation of Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity Independent and Autonomous Trade Union, a delegation of the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions is to leave for Poland on Tuesday. The meeting will be aimed to hold talks on the cooperation between Hungarian and Polish independent trade unions.

Foreign Minister Horn Leaves for SFRY 23 May
LD2305091489 Budapest MTI in English
0828 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, left for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on an official friendly visit on Tuesday at the invitation of Budimir Loncar, secretary of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

His itinerary for Wednesday includes a meeting with Janez Drnovsek, president of the collective Presidency, and Ante Markovic, president of the federal government.

Pozsgay President of New Government Body
AU2205134589 Budapest MTI in English
1614 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—The Science Policy College of the Hungarian Council of Ministers was set up on Friday. The president of the college is Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, who informed representatives of the press on the activity and tasks of the new organization.

Mr Pozsgay said that the body is to work as an advisory and decision-preparatory organ, and will not make decisions in science policy affairs. This will continue to be the authority of the government, which will naturally take the proposals and views of the college into consideration.

The most important tasks of the college is to review the entire system of financing, in connection with the reform of the budget, and to work out and adapt a science policy conception into the three-year programme of the government. The minister of state also stressed the college would mainly deal with strategic issues, and not with the affairs of the individual areas of science or with scientific partial issues.

Evaluating the creation of the college, Mr Pozsgay noted that the current government has hopefully once and for all broken with the earlier practice that occasions bad memories, in which it could order the scientific conclusions and results for itself.

MSZMP Political Committee Session 16 May
LD1605215989 Budapest MTI in English
2027 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 16 (MTI)—During its Tuesday session, the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] discussed preparations for the national party conference.

The Political Committee was informed about the experience from the debate over the agrarian policy draft outline which was adopted at the February 20 session of the Central Committee. Accordingly, the Political Committee recommends to the Central Committee a new outline which places more emphasis on the forthcoming tasks, the development of villages, human efforts, and the role of sciences.

The body repeatedly surveyed the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] relationship to the churches and religions. It made a proposal concerning the basic principles of the law on the freedom of conscience and religion. On the basis of the democratic renewal of Hungarian society and the development of political pluralism, the HSWP's religious and church policy has to be transformed so as differences in world outlook will not hamper cooperation between the progressive forces of society.

In keeping with the new political conditions, the party and the state have to separate more distinctly their approach to the churches and religiousness.

The body adopted a proposal on the text of the rule of organization and operation of the founding document of the Gyorgy Lukacs Foundation aimed at promoting improvements in Marxist and socialist-oriented research, education and the dissemination of political information. A Gyorgy Lukacs prize will also be awarded once a year. The foundation's current assets amount to 40 million forints.

Discussing the modernization of party education, the Political Committee stated that the HSWP's political college had been up to its task during the past decades, amid the conditions of a one-party system. Further on, it is not justified for the HSWP to run a national institute which also carries out state functions of higher education. It is proposed that the Council of Ministers should transfer the training of politologists to a state university. As of January 1, 1990, the HSWP will set up a political institute to be engaged in the further training of party officials, party policy research and political public opinion polls. Maintenance of the institute will be the duty of the HSWP Central Committee.

The Political Committee convened the Central Committee session for May 29.

Grosz Inspects Dismantling of Border Alarm System
AU1905102789 Budapest MTI in English
1409 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 17/05/1989—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, accompanied by Istvan Horvath, minister of the Interior, arrived for a daylong visit to the western border on Wednesday.

At Fertorakos, Mr Grosz was welcomed by Brigadier General Janos Szekely, national commander of the frontier guards, Brigadier General Istvan Kun, first secretary of the HSWP's frontier guard committee. They stated that, parallel with increasing tourist traffic, in 1988 62 million passports and 18 million vehicles were checked. During the first four months of this year, traffic grew by 73 per cent against the corresponding period of 1988.

Following, Mr Grosz inspected the dismantling of the electric alarm system on the confines of Fertorakos.

In the early afternoon, Mr Grosz met commanders and political workers at an activist session in Sopron.

Cypriot President Vasiliou Begins Visit 21 May

LD2105205189 Budapest MTI in English
1902 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—Yeoryios Vasiliou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, arrived in Hungary on Sunday for a four-day official visit at the invitation of Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. His entourage include Yeorgios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs, Takis Nemitsas, minister of commerce and industry, Ilias Theodorou Ipsaridhis, ambassador of the Republic of Cyprus to Hungary who joined the group in Budapest.

Yeoryios Vasiliou and his entourage was met by F. Bruno Straub, Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Laszlo Kincses, Hungarian ambassador accredited to Athens and Cyprus, at Ferihegy Airport.

Talks With Horn

LD2105205489 Budapest MTI in English
1912 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—Yeoryios Vasiliou, at present in Budapest, went to see the coronation symbols on display in the National Museum as part of his private programme. He met Ivan Berendt, president of the Hungarian Academy of Science, and sculptor Makris Agamemnon.

During the evening, he held talks with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, followed by talks between Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs and Gyula Horn.

Private Talks With Straub

LD2205124789 Budapest MTI in English
1152 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—During their private talks in Budapest on Monday, Presidents F. Bruno Straub of Hungary and Yeoryios Vasiliou of Cyprus assessed the state of relations between the two countries, stating that the current visit was likely to contribute a great deal to the further development of relations. Mr Vasiliou, whose party includes 20 economic experts, emphasized the importance of economic cooperation.

Mr Straub informed his counterpart on the main directions of the constitutional process and control over the exercise of power.

Speaking about the basic principles of Hungarian foreign policy, Mr Straub stated, in connection with the non-aligned foreign policy of Cyprus, that Hungary continues to support a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the Cyprus issue.

During their private talks, Mr Vasiliou invited Mr Straub for a visit to Cyprus.

Assembly Speaker Szuros Leaves for Morocco

AU1905105589 Budapest MTI in English
1824 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 17/05/1989—Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly, left for the Kingdom of Morocco on Wednesday at the head of a parliamentary delegation.

Mr Szuros is meeting an invitation from Ahmad Osman, president of the Chamber of Representatives of Morocco.

Mr Szuros is to hold talks with his host, and is to meet Prime Minister Azzedine Laraki, and Foreign Minister Abdellatif Filali.

King Hassan II of Morocco is also expected to receive the speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly.

Meets King Hassan II

LD2105210989 Budapest MTI in English
1628 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Casablanca, May 21 (MTI)—King Hassan II received the delegation of the Hungarian parliament led by Speaker Matyas Szuros in Casablanca on Saturday.

In the course of the cordial conversation, the king showed great interest in the social, political processes in the works in Hungary.

Mr Szuros outlined to him the work of the legislation relating to the multi-party system and the Constitution. He presented the king with a Hungarian translation of the Koran, and mentioned that an Islamic community had recently started its activity in Hungary. They also touched upon plans of setting up an Islamic cultural centre in Hungary which the Moroccan ruler offered to be supporting.

Hassan II emphasized he would be pleased if relations between Morocco and Hungary would rapidly expand in the near future and that he would like to visit Hungary in the course of a trip to central Eastern Europe.

Vastagh Meets Italian Mayor, Businessmen

LD1805154289 Budapest MTI in English
1446 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Rome, May 18 (MTI)—Dr Pal Vastagh, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and first secretary of the Csongrad County Party Committee, currently in Italy for the Italian Socialist Party Congress, met Mayor Lauro Grossi in Parma on Thursday.

Talks were held about plans to twin Szeged and Parma and about university cooperation.

Mr Vastagh conferred with businessmen in Parma, Verona and Udine. His discussions in Udine were also concerned with university links.

Attends Party Congress

LD1905223289 Budapest MTI in English
2149 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—Pal Vastagh, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Political Committee and first secretary of the Csongrad County committee of the party, visited Italy from May 13 to 19, on the invitation of the Italian Socialist Party. Mr Vastagh attended the 45th congress of the Italian Socialist Party in Milan.

Mr Vastagh held talks with Bettino Craxi, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, Senator Fabio Fabbri, head of the Socialist Group of the Senate, Michele Achilli, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, Margherita Boniver, foreign affairs secretary of the party, and Paolo Vittorelli, member of the party's leadership.

On the request of the University of Udine, Mr Vastagh held a lecture at the economics faculty on the Hungarian reform process, and met with the county leaders of the political parties.

Straub Congratulates SFRY Counterpart 15 May

LD1805135489 Budapest MTI in English
1801 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 15 (MTI)—Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, cabled his greetings on Monday to Dr Janez Drnovsek, on the occasion of his election as President of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Bilateral Industrial Pact Signed With Israel

TA1805060289 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew
0500 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] A delegation of Israeli industrialists and financiers visiting Budapest yesterday signed a framework agreement for bilateral industrial cooperation. Interviewed on the morning newsreel, 'Uzi Netan'el, the head of the delegation, said that ways to improve Israel's trade balance with Hungary are being discussed in talks with representatives of the Hungarian Ministries of Trade and Finance. According to him, the Hungarian hosts are interested in cooperation with and assistance from Israel.

National Peace Council Planning 1 Jul Forum

LD2005202489 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] The chairman of the National Peace Council stated that the organization advocates the creation of an independent, sovereign, and neutral Hungary, even if the premier has a different opinion. Laszlo B. Sztanyik was speaking at a session of the National Peace Council. The participants decided to convene a national peace forum on 1 July. Several proposed that they change their name, for example, to the Hungarian Peace Federation [Magyar Beke Szoevetseg]. Figuring in the draft program to be submitted to the forum is the feeling that the National Peace Council has been too conciliatory to the government's policy in the past. It was not firm, for example, on human rights. Now, the Peace Council is seeking contacts with church, professional, and other groups, with which it wishes to form a peace alliance.

New Commercial Radio Station Launched

LD2205130789 Budapest MTI in English
1201 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—"Calypso", a new Hungarian commercial radio channel started broadcasting on Monday. A joint venture of multimedia organization and Hungarian radio, "Calypso" will broadcast news, information and music to Budapest listeners from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. everyday on the 873 khz wave-length of medium frequency.

Further on Krakow Anti-Soviet Demonstrations

Church Official Thanked

LD2205205589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2000 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] General Jerzy Gruba, head of the voivodship office of internal affairs in Krakow, has thanked the prior of the Order of Dominican Fathers for the humanitarian attitude of the order's members. During the 18 May events they gave help and sheltered two functionaries of the Civic Militia who had been beaten up by a group of youthful rioters.

Press Details Incidents

AU2205140589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
18 May 89 p 10

[Report signed 'A.G.': "What These Events Are Aimed Against"]

[Text] There were more street disturbances in Krakow on 17 May. Leaflets calling on the population to attend a rally in the Market Square were affixed to walls the previous night and on the same morning. The rally began at 1430. Its organizers, the same people as before, called on the people assembled, mainly young people, to seek vengeance for yesterday's events outside the USSR Consulate General.

According to the ringleaders, the reason why vengeance was necessary is that although the peacekeeping forces had not used force, they had nevertheless removed from outside the consulate people who had defaced Soviet emblems and prevented others from entering the Soviet diplomatic facility.

It is necessary to recall that all the detainees who took part in the previous day's events have been released.

This time, a crowd of 800 people, causing total disruption to traffic, proceeded to the Soviet Consulate in Westerplatte Street, shouting insults against the Soviet Union. They threw stones at the consulate and attempted to burst in—an unprecedented and provocative action.

Units of the Motorized Citizens Militia Force were showered with stones ripped from the road and pavements. The aggressive crowd left the consulate and spread out over the city center.

The peacekeeping forces were forced to use water cannon and tear gas. The events were watched by crowds of tourists from home and abroad, who happened to be in Krakow. Smaller groups of demonstrators, shouting "Gestapo," attacked the peacekeeping forces.

Many casual observers suffered injuries and had to be taken to first aid posts. Over a dozen private cars parked in nearby streets were destroyed.

The demonstrators went so far as to try and break into a convent of Dominican nuns not far from the Soviet Consulate. When the nuns tried to close their doors to the crowd, they met with an avalanche of curses.

Communal facilities were wrecked during the demonstration. Barricades were erected out of benches, and even petrol bombs were thrown at the peacekeeping forces.

A TRYBUNA LUDU reporter asked General Jerzy Gruba, chief of the Krakow Voivodship Internal Affairs Office, for an assessment of these events. "In every civilized country, one's disapproval of even the most hated diplomatic facilities is expressed in a cultural manner by means of demonstrations, using various kinds of slogans, and protest marches," said Gen Gruba. "What happened in front of the Soviet Consulate can only be described as barbarity."

Gen Gruba also said that seven bystanders were injured and received first aid. Over 20 militiamen were injured, 2 of whom are in hospital. Nineteen militia vehicles were damaged. Thirteen demonstrators were apprehended and released after questioning.

Andrzej Zaleski, prosecutor for Krakow Voivodship, said that the prosecutor's office has commenced investigations into the events in Krakow on 16 and 17 May. The public will be kept informed about the results of these investigations.

Demonstrations 'Shame' Poland

AU2205110989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 May 89 p 5

[Andrzej Gasing report: "Evidence of Barbarism and Irresponsibility"]

[Text] A group of several dozen young people, among whom there was no shortage of children, decided to "occupy" themselves with Poland's most important political and social problems beneath the Mickiewicz monument in Krakow's Main Square on 15 and 16 May.

Here are the facts: At 1430 on 15 May, in front of the Collegium Novum building of the Jagiellonian University, the "Freedom and Peace" student movement held a rally, attended by about 100 people, to mark the international day of struggle against militarism. Claimed to be held on behalf of the "entire Polish people," the rally called for an immediate end to military lectures in secondary schools, an end to compulsory military training for all students, and end to the practice of making graduation dependent on a "senseless military parody," the abolition of the draft, and political prisoner status for those imprisoned for refusing to undergo military service.

Next, the participants formed themselves into a parade, which proceeded to the Main Square. They called out that a new stage of struggle was beginning, and invited to

take part in it anyone who did not wish to watch society's planned incapacitation by the communist state and by enemy elites. They called for energetic action against the new, more refined form of slavery that is currently being imposed on Poland.

Factories, schools, and colleges have been robbed from us. That was the message that appeared on handouts signed by an intercity anarchist group, whose leader is Marek Kurzyniec.

Young people's naivete has its limits. I do not think the above arguments, the above pitiful and comical political declarations, could achieve any results, especially because the demonstrators attend without shame the schools and colleges that have been "robbed," and enjoy the social facilities offered by these institutions for free.

The group of fanatic "warriors," who understand nothing, will also not understand the fact that the Polish military uniform has always been a symbol of the highest honor for us Poles and the entire world, and that this uniform was and still is a symbol of a fighting, independent, and unvanquished Poland. How can people who think that the public burning of Polish military service booklets is an expression of freedom understand this?

The next day, 16 May, the same organizers met beneath the Mickiewicz monument to demonstrate against the presence of Soviet forces in Poland. There was one slogan: "Soviets go home." This message appeared on a banner attached to the pedestal, above which was a black flag and the emblem of the "Freedom and Peace" movement. A march then took place, headed by a boy no older than 6 years.

This time, the participants, of whom there were less than on the previous day, used children as a kind of "protection" against possible intervention by the peacekeeping forces.

On the one hand, the young people described the Soviet units based in Poland as "occupying forces," but on the other hand they praised the Soviet perestroika. Next there was a small procession of people shouting "Soviets go home," which proceeded to Westerplatte Street, where the USSR Consulate General is situated. Here, in violation of all international norms, respected in even the most military-minded of countries, they defaced the USSR emblem, which would have caused great indignation among Poles if it had happened to a Polish emblem.

Someone wrote "ass" ["dupa"] on the plaque which carries the name of the consulate and the USSR state emblem. Next to this, someone drew a gallows with a star hanging from it. About 50 participants of the demonstration threw coins at the consulate entrance, saying that that was money for the journey home.

All the time, the peacekeeping forces did not intervene. The demonstrators sat down before the entrance to the consulate, stopping anyone from getting through. It was then that patrol vehicles of the peacekeeping forces appeared, asking everyone to disperse. This request went unheard, and so militia officers, without using direct force, seized one demonstrator after another and took them to the militia vehicles. They drove the demonstrators to militia stations, and released them after identification.

We decided that those responsible for these excesses, which cast the entire student community in a bad light, had remained anonymous for too long, and asked General Jerzy Gruba, chief of the Krakow Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs, for details of the ringleaders.

"We checked the identities of 45 people, of whom 27 are students, 7 schoolchildren, 3 unemployed persons, and 8 employed persons," said Gen Gruba. "We know many of them very well. They include Radoslaw Huget, 29 and unemployed; Marcin Mamon, 21, third-year student at the philological-historical faculty of the Jagiellonian University; Piotr Hertig, 25, first-year student at the same faculty; and Dariusz Pieklo, 26 third-year student of geology at the Mining Academy."

What is the conclusion to be drawn from these events? This is not the first time we have witnessed immoral and irresponsible behavior which brings shame on Poland, behavior into which children have been involved this time. It is true that only a small number of young people allowed themselves to be drawn into this hooliganism which undermines our national honor. Nevertheless, it is individual occurrences like these that determine our image in the world.

Apart from that, the young people have their parents and teachers. I think these events should make these parents and teachers think. Opposition circles should also think. While not actually identifying themselves with these events, nevertheless these circles do not oppose them. In fact, by imparting a style of confrontation to the election campaign, the opposition circles are silently encouraging events like these.

'Indignation' Over Protests

AU2205182989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
18 May 89 p 10

[PAP commentary: "Provocative Incidents in Krakow: Who and What the Events Harm"]

[Text] A PAP commentator writes: Feelings of indignation and concern have been prompted by reports on the events that took place in Krakow's streets and squares on Wednesday [17 May] afternoon.

After an interval that lasted no more than 48 hours, disgraceful anti-Soviet outbursts and provocations, which were provoked by part of the opposition, occurred once again.

Soviet symbols were desecrated and the Soviet state was denigrated.

By writing anti-Soviet, inflammatory slogans containing obscene and offensive language, the organizers of these demonstrations showed that freedom and democracy are being flagrantly abused at a time when the right to demonstrate has barely come into being.

These excesses have an intensely harmful effect on the interests of the Polish state and people as they upset Polish-Soviet relations at a time when they are better than ever before and have been purged of various aberrations.

This is a happening when Soviet policy, which is embodied by Mikhail Gorbachev, is underscoring the equal nature of mutual relations and the sovereignty of all the socialist countries.

The Krakow disturbances inculcate the entire opposition and not just its radical, extremist wing, because the entire opposition propagates anti-Soviet feeling in one way or another and thus creates a climate that gives rise to events of this kind.

These events took place in a city that was saved by the appearance of the red star on the shoulder straps of the soldiers uniform, the red star that is the object of derision and jeering on the part of young vandals.

These incidents took place barely a couple of hundred meters away from the eternal flame of gratitude that burns at the site of the graves of Soviet soldiers who gave their lives in seeking to prevent the destruction of Wawel Castle, the Sukiennice building, or St. Mary's Church, that treasure of Polish Gothic religious architecture.

"We support democracy, accord, and pluralism, but we are against coarse behavior, and offending anyone's national feelings." This is what the citizens of Krakow were saying on Wednesday [17 May] evening, as they commented on what happened in their city with a feeling of embarrassment and concern about the future of national accord, and Poland's future and place in the world.

Watching the pictures shown in the evening television news bulletins, it has to be said that indignation is what is felt by the majority of Polish society, by all thinking people in our country.

We may differ in our views on various Polish problems. However, we must adopt a clear-cut stand on such issues as respect for a great friendly country and the fundamental principles of our foreign policy, which is based on alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries that belong to the socialist community.

Peace, a sense of responsibility, and stable internal and external relations are essential conditions for the success of everything that was jointly worked out at the "round-table."

The scandalous incidents in Krakow must also arouse feelings among the Soviet people, who have a right to ask: "What is happening in friendly, allied Poland? Will the legalization of the opposition harm Polish-Soviet relations? Why is part of the Polish opposition sowing anti-Soviet feeling at a time when almost the entire world is viewing the changes taking place in the Soviet Union favorably?"

Commentary Views Solidarity Election Platform
AU2205184889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
18 May 89 p 6

[Piotr Rzdca commentary: "Let Us Ask Candidates"]

[Excerpts] Those who want to take part in public life and make their choice in a manner governed by reason, and not emotion, have a lot to choose from. So far, we have received four election declarations—from the Polish United Workers Party, United Peasant Party, Democratic Party, and the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee. One can read them and compare attitudes toward the past 45 years, and find out who supports what and how he wants to solve the country's problems. It is worth asking Sejm and Senate candidates this.

A close study of the "Solidarity" program reveals many points in common with the others, for example the need for a new constitution, an expansion of workers and local self-management bodies, a greater right to associate, the impartiality of the courts, the curbing of inflation, greater profitability of agriculture, greater industrial productivity, and environmental protection. [passage omitted]

The first major difference between the "Solidarity" declaration and the others is that nowhere in the "Solidarity" declaration do we find a clear stance vis-a-vis the Polish system of today and in 4 years' time. Perhaps this is because "Solidarity" consists of so many different political orientations, from pro-capitalist to social democratic, and it is unwilling or unable to shake off any of these elements. It is true that the program calls for freedom, democracy, and human rights, qualities that are very valuable and necessary. However, almost everyone today is in favor of them, therefore "Solidarity" has no monopoly over expressing them on society's behalf.

A second major difference between the "Solidarity" program and the other programs is the attitude toward the state. [passage omitted] Whereas the party program says that it is necessary to maintain a careful balance between national, general interests and local, parochial interests so that different interests of society may be coordinated and the public order preserved, the "Solidarity" program is clearly in favor of preserving the old

proportion of interests, with heavy emphasis on an unrestricted autonomy of various structures and a maximum curb on state authority. I do not think this idea is socially favorable. [passage omitted]

The third difference is the general tone of the "Solidarity" document. The most frequent words in it are "we demand," without any declaration of joint responsibility for that which is being demanded. The authors fail to notice the latest changes in Poland, for they insist that there will only be changes when "Solidarity" enters parliament. Still they speak on behalf of all society ("Though a minority in parliament, we shall nevertheless express the will of the Polish people"), thus offending others who have worked in this parliament for years. [passage omitted]

"Independence" and "opposition" do not guarantee any solutions, or the material resources necessary to implement them. These solutions have to be found together, and the resources to implement them earned together.

The party has clearly said so in its program: "We want to refurbish the Polish house together with our society's basic forces." This is also a reply to "Solidarity's" election stance.

Solidarity's Receipt of FRG Funds Questioned

LD1905212289 Warsaw PAP in English
1907 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 19—"Would you, as a candidate for a deputy to the Bundestag, or would your party accept financial aid from abroad to cover the cost of an electoral campaign?" A TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent asked during a press conference in Bonn of Gert Weisskirchen, an SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Bundestag deputy, after he had presented a "West European concept" of raising money in the FRG for electoral and political purposes of "Solidarity" and its citizens' committee.

According to Weisskirchen the fact of raising abroad and of conveying funds and technical equipment for "Solidarity" and its electoral apparatus is not, allegedly, a direct interference in the elections to the parliament of sovereign Poland, but it is solely an expression of sympathy for the citizens' committee of "Solidarity".

Weisskirchen tried to dispell doubts and critical questions of newsmen as to the legality of this kind of financial aid to one of the sides of parliamentary elections campaign in Poland. But he could not deny the obvious fact: The external forces and officials are organising in the Federal Republic of Germany an action of collecting money for one of the socio-political groups running for seats in the Sejm and Senate.

"In the United States the thing is simple: He who receives financial aid from abroad has to register himself as an agent of foreign state," an American journalist present at the conference commented in a conversation with the TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent.

PAP Previews Jaruzelski Visit to GDR

LD2105195489 Warsaw PAP in English
1746 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—First secretary of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] and president of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski will pay a visit of friendship to the GDR on May 22 at the invitation from general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] CC and chairman of GDR's Council of State Erich Honecker.

Regular friendly meetings of the leaders of the two states have already become a traditional form of contact. Their aim is to exchange information and discuss the main tasks in the socio-economic development of the two states, to review the state and prospects of bilateral cooperation and assess the international situation.

The past forty years saw many an example of close cooperation between Poland and the GDR. Presently, next to political contacts of both states which are parties to the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA members, cooperation is being developed between their parties and political groupings, social and youth organizations, individual exchange expanded between youth and working crews, and cooperation in science, technology and culture tightened.

The large infrastructure of contacts and mutual ties present in every walk of life of the two states and nations stems from the will to constantly enhance and develop bilateral cooperation.

Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a visit to Berlin in March 1982 while GDR's party-state delegation led by Erich Honecker stayed in Poland in August 1983. Erich Honecker paid a working visit to this country in December 1985 when the two leaders signed a many-year program of the development of cooperation between Poland and the GDR in science, technology and production till 2000. Another meeting at this level was Wojciech Jaruzelski's friendly visit to the GDR in September 1987.

Preserving their sovereign rules of socio-economic development, Poland and the GDR provide an example of not only friendly cooperation but also of settling problems by means of dialogue and political decisions. The latest manifestation of such a policy was the initialling in Berlin of an agreement on delimiting sea areas in the Pomeranian Bay.

The two states are linked by the concordance of views on crucial international issues. They support peace initiatives and help ensure security and cooperation in Europe and worldwide. An example here is Poland's proposal on

decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe known as the Jaruzelski Plan and peace initiatives by the GDR and Czechoslovakia and those by the SED and SPD [Socialist Party of Germany] which constitute new forms of seeking possibilities to ensure security, balance and cooperation in Europe.

One can expect that the visit by Wojciech Jaruzelski will significantly contribute to the strengthening of friendly relations between Poland and the GDR, to the development of neighbourly cooperation and to the construction of a common European home.

Jaruzelski Chairs Defense Committee Meeting
LD2105212489 Warsaw PAP in English
1751 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—A session of the National Defence Committee (KOK), chaired by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, was held today.

The National Defence Committee set directions of further work on amending Poland's defensive doctrine, acquainted itself with the outcome and sized up prospects of the Vienna talks on disarmament and the reduction of armed forces in Europe.

The committee voiced support for Soviet disarmament initiatives. At the same time, it said with satisfaction that the intentions and contents of the Jaruzelski Plan were increasingly clearly reflected on these talks.

The committee examined the impact of detente process on restructuring Polish armed forces, pursued already regularly under a discussion announced by the National Defence Committee on November 21, 1988.

The committee sized up also the current situation as regards domestic security. It condemned adventurist excesses and analyzed existing threats. It pointed to a dependence of the state of security on the observance of legal order, respect for the supreme interests of the nation and state by all social and political forces and the public. The National Defence Committee voiced hope that the understanding of this necessity would become universal.

The following officials took part in the session: KOK's first deputy chairman, Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, KOK's deputy chairmen: Chairman of the United Peasant Party CC Roman Malinowski, Chairman of the Democratic Party CC Jerzy Jozwiak and National Defence Minister Gen. Florian Siwicki as well as KOK's members: Interior Minister Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski and the remaining members of the committee.

Pomeranian Bay Dispute Settled With GDR

LD2205124889 Warsaw PAP in English
1210 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 22 (PAP)—The agreement on the demarcation of sea areas in the Bay of Pomerania, signed by the Polish and the GDR foreign ministers in Berlin, ends long-time negotiations on this question. It puts an end to long disputes between Poland and the GDR on the Bay of Pomerania, a Foreign Ministry department head and chairman of the group of Polish experts who negotiated the agreement recently, Wladyslaw Napieraj, told PAP.

"The negotiations lasted for a long time, almost 11 years. The subject matter was very complex because of the starting situation which we encountered entering the talks. We had to take into account some partial solutions concerning the Bay of Pomerania which were binding for a long time, such as for instance, the 1968 agreement with the GDR on the delimitation of the continental shelf, which was disadvantageous for Poland, and other problems of this kind.

"The problem aggravated particularly as a result of the unilateral expansion of Poland's and GDR's territorial seas by both states to 12 miles and the unilateral establishment of fishing zones. A situation emerged in 1985 that as a result of the GDR decision a greater part of the northern access passage to the ports of Szczecin-Swinoujscie together with the anchorage no.3 were in the GDR's territorial sea.

"However, I would like to stress that Poland did not recognize this decision and we expressed this in an official note by the Polish Government to the GDR Government. For understandable reasons, neither could we agree to a solution based on the so-called right to a free passage through the GDR territorial waters, a guarantee agreement or another agreement of this kind," Napieraj said.

"In the years 1986-1987 there (in the Pomeranian Bay) occurred incidents which after all were artificially exaggerated by some Western mass media, but now they are already a matter of the past," Napieraj went on.

"The decisions taken by Jaruzelski and Honecker in Wroclaw in June 1988 were of decisive significance for the successful end of the talks. Both statesmen agreed at the time that the solution to the problem should be based on the principle of a free and direct access of the ports of Szczecin-Swinoujscie to the high seas.

"The agreement entirely ensures direct, free and sovereign access of the ports of Szczecin-Swinoujscie to the high seas. This means that the so-called northern access passage, existing and used by Poland so far and situated at natural depths, will be situated in the Polish territorial

sea up to 12 nautical miles and farther on at the high sea. Such a solution is of essential significance for the sovereign interests of Polish shipping.

"The agreement also provides Polish merchant ships with the right to pass through the GDR's territorial sea along the tracks used by Poland so far (the western track and a branch of the northern track leading to the north-west) and ensures preferential terms of navigation to Polish men-of-war and state ships," Napieraj said.

"The border of the GDR's territorial sea will go in the distance of 0.6 nautical mile west of the axis of the track and along the western edge of the deep-water anchorage no.3. This means that the GDR cancels its decision and withdraws the lateral and external border of its territorial waters west of the northern access track," Napieraj said.

"The agreement defines the common maritime border of both states up to 12 nautical miles, that is, fixes it at the width of a 12-mile zone of territorial waters corresponding to the currently binding norms of the law of the sea. The common maritime frontier of up to 12 miles is also the logical consequences of decisions of the Potsdam Agreement and the Zgorzelec Treaty on the border on the Odra and Nysa rivers. Thus, both sides stress the lasting and inviolable character of the post-war border solutions. This also means elimination of the so-called wedge of the high seas between the 6th and 12th miles. This 75-square kilometre area will be Poland's territorial sea.

"The northern access track and anchorage no. 3, so far in the GDR Shelf, were entirely excluded from the GDR Shelf and fishing zone under the agreement. The agreement also cancels unilateral decisions of both states on fishing zones and makes this question entirely clear.

"Therefore, the agreement is a common success of both states and a confirmation of their goodwill, whose source is the lasting convergence of ideological and political goals of Poland and the GDR. By signing the agreement, both states gave also a good example of how to properly solve complex questions in the spirit of respect for mutual interests and patient and business-like negotiations," Napieraj said.

Czyrek Discusses Washington Visit, Talks
AU2205172189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 89 p 9

[Zbigniew Broniarek report: "Jozef Czyrek Interview: I Am Returning From Washington With a Feeling of Optimism"]

[Text] Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, and chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, ended his visit to Washington on 17 May.

He held talks with U.S. President George Bush at the White House, talks that were attended by Secretary of State James Baker and General Brent Scowcroft, the President's main security adviser. Jozef Czyrek met the heads of the Senate Democratic majority and Republican minority, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and the chairman of the subcommittee for European affairs for both houses of Congress. J. Czyrek also spoke with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

At the end of his official visit to the United States, Jozef Czyrek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, gave the following interview to Zbigniew Broniarek, TRYBUNA LUDU's permanent correspondent in Washington.

[Broniarek] I can remember your last visit to Washington, which took place at the beginning of March 1987, shortly after President Ronald Reagan had lifted the sanctions. There was a different atmosphere at that time....

[Czyrek] Yes; actually that was when Polish-American relations began to improve—the lifting of sanctions was importance evidence of this—but there was still a long way to go to their normalization. On that occasion I made the trip as head of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission and it was only when I had arrived at Washington airport that I discovered that I was to be met by Vice President George Bush. This is how it happened. When Zdislaw Ludwiczak, the charge d'affaire in Washington—there were no ambassadors in Warsaw or in the capital of the United States at that time—and I left the plane and entered the arrivals hall we were met by a State Department official, who took us aside and said that it had been decided that I would be received by Vice President Bush. That was my first meeting with him. The next meeting was during his visit to Poland in September 1987, and the third took place now, at a time when he is President of the United States. This is also a gauge of how Polish-American relations have improved.

[Broniarek] And this visit has had something of a different form....

[Czyrek] There is no doubt about that. Besides, you could see that for yourself. After all, you were also in the corridor next to the Oval Office, among the many journalists, photographers, and cameramen, and then all of you were invited into the office to take photographs and to listen to the first few words of our conversation. In March 1987, I would say that representatives of the American media were not that much in evidence around me, although some Washington journalists, Tad Szulc, for example, displayed interest in my visit.

[Broniarek] Your talks with the President were, of course, the most important part of your visit. As soon as the visit was over, you talked about it with journalists

outside the White House. Now that your visit is drawing to a close and you can view things with a certain detachment, could you add something to your initial comments?

[Czyrek] What I would like to underscore once again is the interest in and favorable attitude toward the changes taking place in Poland displayed by the President. He has an informed view of them. What I had to say was also listened to with interest—at any rate, that was my impression—by Secretary of State James Baker, Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, and his deputy, Robert Gates, all of whom were present at the meeting. I was, of course, very pleased that President Bush had invited such distinguished members of his entourage to the meeting. One more observation: Those present included Mrs. Condoleezza Rice [name as published], who deals with Soviet and Eastern European affairs, including Polish affairs, on a daily basis on the National Security Council and, it is worth noting, speaks Russian fluently. Her knowledge will undoubtedly contribute to a fuller understanding of our sometimes complicated matters on the part of the American leadership.

[Broniarek] Did you get the impression that President Bush and his advisers were conscious of the historic character of the changes that are taking place in Poland?

[Czyrek] Very much so; after all, I remember that on 7 April, even before the speech in Hamtramck (Detroit), President Bush said that the changes taking place in Poland were "incredible," and I noticed that during our talk he nodded his head when I said that an "entirely new system" was coming into being in Poland.

[Broniarek] Did the President refer to the visit that he paid to Poland when he was still vice president?

[Czyrek] Yes, he stressed that he and his wife been treated with enormous hospitality in Poland. He also recalled his conversation with General Jaruzelski, which he described as "interesting, frank, and pleasant." As you know, I conveyed a letter from Gen. Jaruzelski to the President, and the President asked me to convey regards to him.

[Broniarek] Talks on economic matters were an important part of the visit. Did they produce any results?

[Czyrek] I raised these issues with everyone I spoke to, including the President. I talked about the 8-point program that was set out at Hamtramck with him, a program that merits attention. I also held many talks at the U.S. Congress, including talks with Claiborne Pell, head of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and with Senator Edward Kennedy, who is particularly interested in Poland for various reasons, including his murdered brother's popularity in Poland and his Polish voters in Massachusetts. I also met Senator Barbara Mikulski. I had very substantive talks with George Mitchell, head of the Senate Democratic majority and Senator Bob Dole,

head of the Republican minority. They all stressed that Congress and the administration are now making decisions that may affect Poland. They said that they would help to further develop Polish-U.S. economic cooperation. We will see what this will mean in concrete terms. I think that the members of the administration and of Congress that I spoke to are becoming increasingly aware of the great burden that Poland's debts impose not only on our economy in its entirety, but also on our reforms, including political ones. Indeed, a question mark hangs over some of our economic reforms without the normalization of our economic and financial relations—I would particularly like to underscore this—with the United States and with the West in general. We are hoping that the United States will take concrete steps that will show that they understand our position.

[Broniarek] What impressions are you taking away with you from Washington?

[Czyrek] I am very aware of the changes that have taken place in the attitude of America's leaders and American society, including the Polish community, toward Poland. There is no longer the coolness that could be felt—with some exceptions—when I was here at the beginning of March 1987. Things are different now. There are still some clouds hanging over Polish-American relations, but there is a lot of sunlight breaking through them, and back in 1987 there was hardly any of that. I am going back to Poland with a feeling of optimism and with the belief that Polish-American relations will continue to improve to the benefit of both sides.

[Broniarek] Thank you.

Polish-American Economic Council Meets
AU2205180889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 May 89 p 5

[Text] PAP—The ninth session of the Polish-American Economic Council has ended in Warsaw. The session consisted of plenary talks, meetings of problems teams, and meetings between individual representatives of various institutions interested in cooperation.

The condition of Polish-American economic cooperation and the possibility of a further intensification thereof was discussed. The American side of the Council consists of high-ranking representatives of the world of industry, commerce, and banking who have influence over American Government decisions. One should consider this meeting an important event in the economic life of both countries, because Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and George Bush sent messages to the participants.

Beurt A. Servaas was appointed new chairman of the Council. After the session, he answered questions from journalists, together with Dale Hathaway, the previous chairman; Tadeusz Zylkowski, chairman of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade; and Jerzy Kapuscinski, trade counselor at the Polish Embassy in the United States.

Answering a question about whether the session had considered the Polish topics contained in G. Bush's recent speech, B. Servaas said that the federal government may issue credits for structural changes to the economy of a given country. However, this practice is only applied to developing countries. As far as developed countries are concerned, credits are granted to secure the implementation of private contracts.

D. Hathaway added that the United States supports the Polish Government's efforts to obtain World Bank credits for restructuring. These credits would no doubt be more effective than direct American Government aid.

Both men praised the qualities of the Polish economy and society. However, better management is necessary. In response to an idea by a Polish Government representative, the president of Indiana University [not further identified] is seeking to set up a school of managers in Poland. The result is positive. About 18 months are needed to set up this school, said B. Servaas.

Counselor J. Kapuscinski said that the Trade Development Bank has noted increased interest in investment possibilities in Poland.

UK's Howell, Malinowski Discuss Cooperation
AU2205112189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 May 89 p 4

[PAP report on visit by Ralph Howell, chairman of the British-Polish Parliamentary Group in Warsaw 15 May: "Polish-British Parliamentary Cooperation"]

[Text] Ralph Howell, chairman of the British-Polish Parliamentary Group, currently in Poland, visited Roman Malinowski, Sejm marshal, on 15 May. The level of cooperation between the two parliaments was discussed.

The increasingly frequent contacts between London and Warsaw, stated R. Malinowski, facilitate better understanding and create more favorable conditions for the revitalization of bilateral and international relations, and relations in other fields. We are interested in cooperation with the European Parliament and the North Atlantic Assembly. This strengthens the process of multilateral cooperation on our continent, which not only benefits Poland, but also the building of a common European home.

R. Malinowski briefed his British guest on the situation in Poland, the results of the "roundtable" discussions, and the consequences flowing from the concluded accord. He stressed that the Sejm had already passed several items of especially important legislation which stemmed from the "roundtable" agreements.

To ensure the success of reforms in Poland, stated R. Malinowski, it is important to secure full normalization of external relations with the Club of Paris and the IMF,

among others. This should create conditions for exploiting the possibilities of economic cooperation to their full extent, which means the repayment of debts, something which should be of interest to all parties. At the end, the Sejm marshal expressed the conviction that this visit would be an important contribution to the development of the partner like Polish-British relations.

Ralph Howell stated, among other things, that changes occurring in Poland were opening up enormous possibilities of revitalizing international economic cooperation. He expressed the hope that financial institutions like, for example, the IMF, would find ways to help Poland. British banks would then not hesitate to make capital available.

Later, R. Howell met members of the Polish-English parliamentary group with its chairman, Professor Jan Kaczmarek, and Sejm Deputy Emil Kolodziej.

In the afternoon, the chairman of the British-Polish parliamentary group visited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Polish-British bilateral relations were discussed at a meeting with Boleslaw Kulski, undersecretary of state, in this ministry.

Orzechowski Cited on Polish Path to Socialism
PM2205152489 Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 28 Apr-1 May 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prof Marian Orzechowski, Polish United Workers Party Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Scholl] A significant proportion of Polish society blames socialism for the country's poor economic condition...

[Orzechowski] You could equally well pronounce a diametrically opposite diagnosis: that a significant proportion of our society identifies the sources of the present problems and difficulties in the absence of socialism, in errors and inconsistencies that have accompanied the task of building it. And those people are probably right.

It is true that the present situation does not invite great spontaneous bursts of enthusiasm or much jubilation. But there is no reason for falling into apathy and despondence either. The situation is gradually improving. The outcome of the roundtable debate, a reform of the political system, government decisions on a new economic order—all these encourage us to feel more optimistic than we have felt in the past.

[Scholl] It is always worth remembering and reiterating—at least on special occasions—the nature and the longevity of the values inherent in socialism...

[Orzechowski] I understand your intention, but this is a very broad issue, demanding no less than a full-scale political or scientific treatise. We could talk about it for hours on end. But let me just make a few observations here.

Socialism as a social movement and social system rose from mankind's immemorial striving for a dignified and just life, from its search for an answer to eternal questions probing the meaning of work and the satisfaction it can bring us as well as the limits of human knowledge and the possibility of human beings to forge their own destinies according to their aspirations.

There have always been a variety of ways in which socialism was interpreted, and these ways remain varied today too. I personally believe that its meaning can be illustrated through such notions as material prosperity, social justice, democracy, and a wealth of spiritual values. And this remains the heart of the matter.

There are also a variety of ways in which to reach socialism. It is no accident that the expressions: Arab

socialism, African socialism, Asian socialism—and also East European, Swedish, Albanian, Hungarian, or Chinese socialism—are in common usage throughout the world. They reflect the varied wealth of social practice, the abundance of different ways of searching and experimenting within the same system of shared objectives and values.

For us Poles our own, Polish path to socialism is the most important and relevant one. Its origins go back considerably more than 100 years and its history is a combination of national and universal dimensions. The party charted the course of this path—in its modern, contemporary application—at its 10th Central Committee Plenum. Thus our path follows the course of parliamentary democracy, fosters society's civic involvement, and applies socialist market economy. The profound internal transformation of our sociopolitical system which we are all experiencing today has recently found its expression in the establishment of new political institutions: a bicameral parliament and the office of president. [passage omitted]

Executive Committee Examines Economic Matters
AU1905201489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1821 GMT 19 May 89

["Meeting of Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 19/5/1989—Meeting on 19 May under the chairmanship of RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, during the first part of its session the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP looked into and passed a report on recalculating the industrial cost of production. The fact was stressed that the measures taken with a view to turning the entire economic production profitable helped most of the products in all the sectors of activity to fall within the limits provided for the costs of production, some of them even becoming more profitable than planned. At the same time the fact was pointed out that a number of 24 products and activities in the area of services continue to proceed at a loss.

Setting out from this, President Nicolae Ceausescu asked the government, the ministries to come up with solutions with a view to further improving the profitability of all the products and activities so that by the end of the first half of this year no product or enterprise may further work at a loss. No rise in prices is acceptable, the party general secretary stressed. The question is to cut production costs continuously, this being the decisive path to the country's economic and social development, to providing economic stability, enhancing profitability and efficiency, the national income and the living standards of the working people.

The Executive Political Committee also looked into a report on the prices abroad and the net rates of exchange in 1989, asking for most firm action in order to observe the legal norms in the area, to stand within the rates of exchange provided for in the plan. To this end the need was stressed for a proper foreign-trade activity, exports in particular, to make them economically more efficient. Ministries were asked to table a programme of measures conducive to improvements, since as early as this year, in the situation in this domain by better capitalizing on the products exported, enhancing the quality and competitiveness of the Romanian products on the foreign market.

Next, the Executive Political Committee debated a report on the use of the machines, equipment and installations in industry, construction and transports over the first quarter, 1989, and looked into a programme of measures to provide the proper progress of the summer agricultural campaign.

The Executive Political Committee also debated a report on the land stock balance on 31 December, 1988, compared to the year 1987, and the measures to be taken for

attaining the agricultural areas provided in the single national plan for the economic and social development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1989.

The fact was noted that owing to the measures taken, the agricultural area continued to grow by developing and reclaiming areas previously not given agricultural use. For all that, instances continued to exist when legal provisions concerning the use of the land stock were trespassed as certain areas were taken out of the agricultural circuit with no justification.

The Executive Political Committee asked the Ministry of Agriculture and the other agricultural organs and the people's councils to work most responsibly in order not to allow taking any area out of the agricultural circuit, or any failure to observe strictly the provisions of the law regarding the most thoughtful, economically efficient use of the land stock.

Next, the Executive Political Committee looked into the report on the misbehaviour of some state-owned and cooperative agricultural units, which caused damages to the animal-breeding sector.

One report mentions that in the first decade of May the public property suffered damages as the number of head dropped, animals had to be killed owing to grave negligence on the part of specialists and leading cadres who failed to observe strictly the norms and provisions concerning properly looking after and feeding the cattle at some agricultural units in counties Brasov, Salaj, Giurgiu, Satu Mare, Dolj, Bihor, Cluj, Teleorman, Harghita and Caras-Severin. The general assemblies of the working people and cooperative farmers of the respective units criticized severely the misbehaviour and asked that those guilty of the loss of an important number of head be punished according to the law.

The Executive Political Committee endorsed the correctness of these measures and asked that any such act of negligence and lack of responsibility which harms public property, equally in agriculture, in industry and in other domains of activity, should be amply debated and the measures taken against the guilty be announced to the public opinion by the newspapers and the radio-television. Most firm action was asked for so that at each unit and work site a high spirit of order and discipline, responsibility for the proper run of production, the preservation and proper husbanding of public property, the development and strengthening of the socialist property be entrenched.

Foreign Ministry Conveys Pact Appeal to NATO
AU2205170889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1548 GMT 22 May 89

["On the Necessity To Intensify Political Dialogue"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—According to the understanding covenanted among the Warsaw Treaty participating states, on 22 May, the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania conveyed the diplomatic representatives of the NATO member states—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, the Hellenic Republic, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the Portuguese Republic, Spain, Turkey, the United States of America—the appeal of the Warsaw Treaty participating states to the North Atlantic alliance member states.

The appeal urges to stepped-up efforts to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, eliminate all weapons of mass destruction, substantially cut on armed forces, conventional armaments and military spendings, to overcome Europe's division, build up confidence and deepen inter-state collaboration, ensure a dynamic development and general prosperity in conditions of independence, stability and peace on the continent and throughout the world.

The Warsaw Treaty participating states' proposal is reasserted regarding the organization of separate negotiations with NATO member countries on the tactical nuclear armament. At the same time, stress is laid on the necessity that no step be made which could complicate the negotiation process and give a new impetus to the arms race, even under the pretext of its modernization.

Public Groups Appeal to NATO Counterparts
AU2205195089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1924 GMT 22 May 89

["Appeals for the Renunciation of the Updating of Nuclear Weapons by NATO States"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—As an expression of the whole Romanian people's will to live in a world of peace, friendship and collaboration, the mass and public organizations in Romania sent the governments and similar organizations in NATO countries appeals whereby they urge them to do everything possible for those states to renounce the development of tactical nuclear weapons and any measures intended to stimulate the arms race.

On Monday, May 22, the appeals of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, of the National Council of Working People, of the National Peace Committee, of the Romanian Orthodox Church, of the National Women's Council, of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, of the Council of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania, of the National Council of the Young Pioneers Organization, of the Roman Catholic Church, of the National Union of Producer Cooperative Farms, of the Armenian Gregorian Church and of the Socialist Democracy and Union Organization were handed over to the headquarters of the embassies of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States of America, Canada and Great Britain in Bucharest.

Ceausescu Welcomes USSR-PRC Normalization
AU1905195489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1835 GMT 19 May 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu on Current International Issues"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 19/5/1989—During the May 19 meeting of the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to a number of international issues and welcomed the recent understanding between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China on the normalization of relations on a party and state line, showing that to accord with the policy constantly promoted by the Romanian Communist Party, which has been for the surmounting of divergencies, for collaboration on principles of equality among all the socialist countries, among the communist and worker parties, as a prerequisite for the growth of the strength of socialism, for the consolidation of collaboration and peace throughout the world.

Furthermore, considering that late this month NATO intends to approach the issue of updating its tactical weapons and short-range nuclear missiles, President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the stance of Romania which is firmly against the modernization of those weapons. The NATO should give up all decisions and measures for the updating and development of short-range and tactical nuclear weapons. In general, firm action is needed to start negotiations with a view to definitively eliminating those weapons and to striking an accord on the roughly-50-per cent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, an end to nuclear-weapon tests and the complete liquidation, until the year 2000, of all nuclear weapons, which is the only way allowing mankind living conditions on our planet to survive.

Romania is determined to cooperate actively with the socialist countries, with all the peace-loving peoples and forces, to make its full contribution to the cause of disarmament—the fundamental issue of the whole mankind's present and future.

Defense Minister Meets Nigerian President
AU1905185289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1730 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Lagos AGERPRES, 19/5/1989—The president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, received Colonel-General Vasile Milea, minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the occasion the Nigerian head of state was conveyed a message of salute and wishes of good health and personal happiness, and the Nigerian people wishes of progress and prosperity, along with the wish that the relations between Romania and Nigeria in the economic area, as well as in other fields

would develop further, on behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania.

Warmly thanking for the message and wishes conveyed, the Nigerian president requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed wishes of good health and personal happiness, and the Romanian people wishes of prosperity and further successes in the country's development. On behalf of the Nigerian people, as well as on his own behalf, he expressed feelings of gratitude to Romania's president and to the Romanian people for everything they do in the interest of the cause of peace and progress in the world, for the development of links between the two countries.

During the talk conducted on the occasion, the Nigerian head of state praised the Romanian people's fight for free and independent development. "As a developing country, we are appreciative of the Romanian people's efforts and we rejoice at its achievements, which to us and to all developing countries are an example and a model that are worthy of following," the Nigerian president said expressing the wish to strengthen and develop the links between Romania and Nigeria in all areas.

The interview was attended by Lieutenant-General Domkat Ya Bali, Nigerian defence minister.

Stoian Receives Bulgarian Party Delegation
AU1905200289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1841 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 19/5/1989—Over May 15-19 a delegation of activists of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], led by Vasil Momov, first deputy head of the political and ideological section of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, paid an experience-swap visit to Romania, upon an invitation extended by the CC of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party].

The members of the delegation conducted talks at the headquarters of the CC of the RCP, the Bucharest City Committee of the RCP, the Brasov County Committee of the RCP, and the Academy of Social and Political Studies under the CC of the RCP, and saw round economic, social and cultural units in Bucharest and in the County of Brasov.

At the end of their visit, the Bulgarian delegation were received by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 May
AU2005170989

[Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 13-19 May period (time and date of each report given in parentheses):

Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC], and Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, held talks with Karel Julis and Jozef Lenart respectively in Prague on 18 May. (1222 GMT 18 May 89)

Ioan Ungur, foreign trade minister, and Ion Patan, PEC candidate member and minister of finance, met with a Japanese delegation in Bucharest on 17 May. (1553 GMT 17 May 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Mauritanian Fisheries Minister Deh Ould Cheikh in Bucharest on 15 May. (1707 GMT 15 May 89) On 16 May Nicolae Ceausescu received the Romania-Japan Committee members in Bucharest (1701 GMT 16 May 89) and addressed Japanese businessmen in Bucharest. (1918 GMT 16 May 89) On 17 May President Nicolae Ceausescu left for the CSSR. (0643 GMT 17 May) The same day he began official talks with Milos Jakes (1300 GMT 17 May 89) awarded Husak a high Romanian distinction (1139 GMT 17 May 89) exchanged toast with Jakes (1824 GMT 17 May 89) held talks with Gustav Husak (1201 GMT 18 May 89) and returned to Bucharest on 17 May. (1932 GMT 17 May 89) On 19 May Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a PEC meeting in Bucharest. (1810 GMT 19 May 89); (1835 GMT 19 May 89)

State Planning Committee Chairman Radu Balan met with GDR chairman of the council of ministers, Willi Stoph in the GDR on 19 May. (1844 GMT 19 May 89)

PEC candidate member Nicolae Giosan met with Malaysian Parliamentary executives in Kuala Lumpur on 13 May. (1654 GMT 13 May 89) On 18 May Nicolae Giosan met with Indonesian President Suharto and others in Jakarta. (1812 GMT 18 May 89)

PEC member Manea Manescu met with Japanese businessmen in Bucharest on 17 May. (1646 GMT 17 May 89)

Defense Minister Colonel General Vasile Milea met with Nigerian President General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida in Lagos on 19 May 89. (1730 GMT 19 May 89)

PEC member Constantin Olteanu was received by Italian Socialist Party (PSI) leader Bettino Craxi in Rome on 16 May. (0850 GMT 16 May 89) On the same day, Olteanu conveyed an RCP message to the PSI Congress in Rome. (0847 GMT 16 May 89)

New President Interviewed on Internal Crises
AU2205180189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
22 May 89 pp 174-183

[Interview with Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, by Klaus Reinhardt and Renate Flottau: "We Have To Introduce a Market Economy"; date, place not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Drnovsek, last week you took over the highest office in a state which actually only still exists on paper. Can Yugoslavia now be ruled at all?

Drnovsek: I cannot agree with you that our state only still exists on paper. It is indeed true that we have many internal problems and that many tensions have emerged among the individual republics. But something like this exists not only in Yugoslavia but also in other places in the world. In our country the matter is much more complicated because of a different history and different traditions.

DER SPIEGEL: If one reads your newspapers, one gains the impression that civil war is imminent. The Serbs declare the unrest in neighboring Kosovo to be a counterrevolution, the Slovenes compare the Serbs with the fascists because of their brutal police actions.

Drnovsek: Our newspapers indeed represent very contradictory standpoints. We know—and we frankly admit this—that some sort of media war is going on in Yugoslavia. Exaggerations are frequent in this process. In the newspapers the problems sound even worse than they are in reality.

DER SPIEGEL: A media battle as the harbinger of civil war?

Drnovsek: These are very extreme words. I admit that things seem to be difficult. But I think that in Yugoslavia there is still enough reason and readiness to settle problems.

DER SPIEGEL: The state of emergency in Kosovo was imposed by the previous state president. If you now take over power with the new Presidency, can you then accept responsibility for the actions of the Army and the police against students and workers?

Drnovsek: The previous Presidency decided on the state of emergency because of its own assessments and information. I do not yet know this information and these assessments. One thing is for sure: The new Presidency will immediately deal with the situation in Kosovo. I am convinced that we will soon be able to lift the state of emergency.

DER SPIEGEL: Even if the shooting continues?

Drnovsek: I expect the situation in Kosovo to stabilize. In any case, it is my goal to lift the state of emergency as soon as possible.

DER SPIEGEL: How much does the State Presidency still have to say in Kosovo? The Serbs claim that after the change in the Constitution they alone are the ones to decide about the use of the police and Army.

Drnovsek: You asked about the currently existing special measures. These special measures were imposed by the State Presidency. Therefore, they can be lifted only by the State Presidency.

DER SPIEGEL: Serbia alone cannot order new military actions?

Drnovsek: No. Such measures as those now implemented in Kosovo can be imposed only by the State Presidency.

DER SPIEGEL: But Serbia can send its soldiers to Kosovo?

Drnovsek: No, only the State Presidency can decide this. This is laid down in the Yugoslav Constitution.

DER SPIEGEL: Under their leader Milosevic, the Serbs counted on the pressure exerted by the people in the streets to reach their goals. Why were the federal state and party organs not strong enough to prevent these chauvinist mass demonstrations?

Drnovsek: What is true is that for some time we had numerous meetings, in particular in Serbia, but also in other republics and in Kosovo. The previous State Presidency was of the opinion that it was not necessary to interfere, as long as these meetings stuck to the usual democratic rules.

DER SPIEGEL: This means that the Presidency let the Serbs and their people's tribune, current republican President Milosevic, do what they wanted.

Drnovsek: The Presidency cannot politically support one party. The Presidency is a general state organ and interferes in political activities only if it thinks that extraordinary circumstances demand its intervention—Kosovo for instance.

DER SPIEGEL: At Serbian mass demonstrations one could see banners calling for the death of Kosovo's leaders. The Albanians in Kosovo had only called for their own republic. If something was extraordinary, it certainly was the Serbs' behavior.

Drnovsek: I already spoke about the assessment made by the previous Presidency. The state of emergency in Kosovo was thought to be a preventive measure in order to prevent confrontations between members of different nationalities.

DER SPIEGEL: Some Slovene politicians consider that the demand of the Albanians in Kosovo for their own republic is justified. What do you think?

Drnovsek: The Slovene politicians have never explicitly supported the demand for a Republic of Kosovo. They stated that it is necessary to safeguard human rights in Kosovo and to ensure equal rights for all inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of their nationality.

DER SPIEGEL: Is this your opinion, too?

Drnovsek: Certainly. In Slovenia we protested against any discrimination. We were also against the imposition of special measures, because we were afraid that they would violate human rights. But we did not support separatist goals in Kosovo.

DER SPIEGEL: Not only the quarrel among the nationalities in Kosovo, but also political differences are widening the gap between the republics. In Slovenia, for instance, you were elected a member of the Presidency by secret popular ballot, the Croatian representative was elected by the National Assembly, the Serbian representative, however, was appointed by the party alone. Can every republic actually do what it wants?

Drnovsek: The republics definitely have a high degree of autonomy in decisions of this kind. In Slovenia we wanted to elect the member of the Presidency in a more democratic way. Others seem to follow our example. Thus, in Montenegro, too, elections took place, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia will probably follow suit....

DER SPIEGEL: Slovenia as a pioneer of democracy?

Drnovsek: Why not? I am convinced that the practice which we have started in Slovenia will gain ground all over Yugoslavia.

DER SPIEGEL: In the southern Yugoslav republics there are also strong efforts to strengthen the monopoly of power of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY].

Drnovsek: After all, there are differences between the republics concerning the introduction of pluralism, as this is called in Yugoslavia. The Slovene and Croatian practice has already made some progress in this respect. I am of the opinion that we live in a transitional period in which everyone is looking for new political solutions.

DER SPIEGEL: And who decides what the best solution is?

Drnovsek: I hope that there will be a tolerant dialogue to settle these issues, that understanding will be found for the other side, and that people will strive for joint agreements concerning future changes and concerning the new constitution.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you not paint a too harmonious picture of the future?

Drnovsek: I do not expect—and in my view this is not necessary, at all—that there will be total unity. There can be and should be differences between the republics. For Yugoslavia it is essential to introduce the principle of tolerance—tolerance toward the various forms in the individual parts.

DER SPIEGEL: Now these differences also lead to a strange confusion of terms. The Slovenes dream of a Western-type multiparty system. The Croats say that they want pluralism, but only under the leadership of the party. What is Yugoslav pluralism?

Drnovsek: There is not yet anything that one could call Yugoslav pluralism. There is also no corresponding practice. At present there are only different standpoints. Some advocate a classical multiparty system, others think that there should be various communities of interests, groups, associations—or whatever one may call them—within the framework of the Socialist Alliance, which would then act as some sort of party only in a limited way....

DER SPIEGEL: ...and the monopoly of the Communists would be preserved.

Drnovsek: Some stress that the role of the LCY must not be called into question. Others are only willing to discuss such solutions if the leading role of the LCY is safeguarded from the outset. Yet others are not willing to discuss anything in this direction.

DER SPIEGEL: Should there be an institution that states bindingly what is valid for all, or do you think that variety is the better solution in this respect, too?

Drnovsek: Personally, I am categorically in favor of differences. We need unity in variety. However, one must take into account the fact that the living conditions and also the political culture in Yugoslavia are very different. Yugoslavia can exist as a stable state only in a system in which different solutions are recognized and in which there is the possibility to vote again after a certain time on whether the solutions are still acceptable to all.

DER SPIEGEL: The other, more radical possibility would be to cancel the membership in the alliance of states. Or why does the new Slovene draft Constitution expressly set down the right to separate Slovenia from Yugoslavia?

Drnovsek: Slovenia, as an independent people, is of the opinion that it must have a permanently valid right to make its own decisions and that it does not lose this right, as some claim, by being a member of the federation. I am convinced that most Slovenes still have the

wish to cooperate with the Yugoslav state, but under the condition that it is a democratic and modern state with an efficient economy—and not just any state.

DER SPIEGEL: In other words, Slovenia will keep the option of leaving the federation open for itself.

Drnovsek: I think that trends toward leaving Yugoslavia might increase if in Yugoslavia unitarism were to dominate a monolithic party system, something which one can clearly call Stalinism. The Slovenes would not be willing to continue to cooperate with such a state. However, this goes not only for Slovenia, but for all independently thinking people in Yugoslavia.

DER SPIEGEL: For quite some time, the Yugoslav opposition has been discussing the possibility of a confederation, that is, an alliance of states without a strong center. Would this be a solution?

Drnovsek: Already now, Yugoslavia is a federation in which the republics and autonomous provinces have a considerable degree of independence. I think that the name per se, federation or confederation, is not particularly important. Much more important are the real relations between the republics and the center. I think that it is more important for Yugoslavia to attain economic unity. Because, in the economy, integration means greater economic power, as the EC shows.

DER SPIEGEL: At present the only intact integration factor in Yugoslavia seems to be the Army. If the politicians cannot come to an agreement, is there not the danger that the generals will take over power?

Drnovsek: I do not think that this is realistic. So far the Army has supported all trends that lead to a normalization in Yugoslavia and stabilize the political and economic situation. If the Army had other ambitions, it would actually have to wish for a deterioration of the situation.

DER SPIEGEL: The serious economic crisis, which Yugoslavia has been futilely combating for years, has exacerbated the quarrel among the republics. No government since Tito's death has managed to stop the economic slide. Have Tito's heirs all been inefficient?

Drnovsek: The economic situation is very difficult, not only in Yugoslavia, but in many countries of the Third World. And Yugoslavia is still a developing country. The unfavorable conditions for the repayment of loans, which have been in force since the beginning of the 1980's, have considerably contributed to this.

DER SPIEGEL: Are the \$20 billion in foreign debts pushing the country into the ground?

Drnovsek: These, too. The interest rates are very high, much higher than in the past. In my view, it is in particular the repayment of these debts that is mainly

responsible for the fact that Yugoslavia has lost its balance. The situation of the 1970's has reversed itself today. In the 1970's much money from abroad came to Yugoslavia as loans. Today our country spends large sums on paying interest.

DER SPIEGEL: This does not explain why you have the highest inflation rate in Europe—460 percent.

Drnovsek: It is one of the reasons. One can also say that a distribution struggle has started among the republics; everyone wanted to preserve his material level. This also makes the economy stagnate. Since the beginning of the 1980's there have been practically no means available for additional investments. The previous government probably assessed these developments incorrectly.

DER SPIEGEL: You and Ante Markovic, who was recently elected premier, have repeatedly promised a market economy. But how is a free market to work if the average wages of about DM200 per month are below the subsistence level?

Drnovsek: The standard of living has declined strongly; wages are very low; the workers' material situation is very bad. All this naturally makes the introduction of market regularities in our economy difficult. But there is no other way. First of all, one has to ensure the independence of the enterprises and keep politics out of their decisions.

DER SPIEGEL: Markovic has put his economic program under the motto of deregulation, that is, management without state control. How can this be coordinated with the Yugoslav model of workers' self-administration?

Drnovsek: The situation in Yugoslavia is different from that in most Western countries. In the past we had too much administration. The state interfered too much in the economy and in the work of the enterprises in general.

DER SPIEGEL: Not particularly for the benefit of the economy.

Drnovsek: Precisely. The previous governments thought that one should introduce as many rules as possible. The result was that our enterprises wasted much time and energy in the attempt to overcome these administrative obstacles. Then they lacked strength and time for the real economic decisions. DER SPIEGEL: All this rather speaks in favor of self-management of the enterprises.

Drnovsek: The entrepreneurs have to regain the initiative in order to achieve greater economic efficiency. However, this does not mean that it is intended to abolish workers' self-management. On the contrary, one has to make self-management subordinate to the goals of economic efficiency.

DER SPIEGEL: One of your declared goals is Yugoslavia's joining the European Free Trade Association or the EC. Does this not remain an illusion as long as Yugoslavia adheres to socialism?

Drnovsek: I do not agree with you that socialism is an obstacle to Yugoslavia's joining the European forms of integration. Other countries, such as Spain or France, have a socialist government. What I consider important as a condition is the actual introduction of the market economy and the necessity to open Yugoslavia up to international competition. Our political system would not be any hindrance to this—provided it is democratic and pluralistic.

DER SPIEGEL: With his perestroika program, Kremlin chief Gorbachev has not solved the problems of the Soviet Union, but he has sensationally changed the political climate. Would such a program of radical changes also be an example for Yugoslavia?

Drnovsek: For us it is difficult to work as sensationally as Gorbachev, because quite some time ago we already embarked on numerous ways which he is now discovering. A decentralized economic system and more political democracy are not new topics for us. Gorbachev, too, has not yet succeeded in what is most important for Yugoslavia, namely, really implementing the things one is striving for.

DER SPIEGEL: Following the law of rotation, you have only 1 year to tackle Yugoslavia's numerous problems as state president. What is your priority?

Drnovsek: First, I will try to support the Markovic government to implement the program of market orientation. Second, I want to try to bring Yugoslavia closer to European integration. And third, I want to implement a policy of reason, which should also reduce political and national tensions in Yugoslavia. This will be difficult enough.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Drnovsek, thank you for this interview.

SFRY To Initiate Nonaligned Movement Changes

*LD2005113689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1032 GMT 20 May 89*

[Text] Zagreb, May 20 (TANJUG)—At the recent ministerial meeting of the nonaligned countries in Harare, the last major political gathering before the summit in Belgrade at the beginning of September, the movement unanimously opted for changes, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK sums up today.

And Yugoslavia, as host of the watershed summit of the nonaligned, was given in Harare, from all appearances, the mandate to lead off this process of changes.

The world political scene in recent years has changed to such a degree that, according to the majority of appraisals, the world stands on the threshold of a new epoch, an epoch of reconciliation, dialogue and co-existence.

It was precisely because of this fact that modernisation in a substantive and methodological sense was at the focus of attention of the gathering in Harare.

The agreement on the agenda of the summit announces that the nonaligned countries will also shift to broader, new, increasingly more important avenues of international relations—human rights, protection of the environment, demography, migrations, the anti-narcotic fight...

An awareness of the necessity of modernising the movement, in order that it may remain on the level of its own visions and in line with international developments, will be a major starting-point for the Belgrade meeting.

Signals of the new attractiveness of the movement on the international scene, visible in the announcement of new candidacies and the desire of many countries outside the movement to be present in Belgrade in this or that capacity, are additional encouragements, VJESNIK concludes.

LCY Delegation Discusses Reforms in Algeria

*LD2005223589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 20 May 89*

[Text] Algiers, 20 May (TANJUG)—The implementation of economic, political and party reforms for the purpose of the more effective resolution of the complex problems facing Algeria and Yugoslavia was at the center of attention of today's talks between a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and Abdelhamid Mehri, Secretary General of the FLN [National Liberation Front].

The two sides discussed key activities in the preparations for the extraordinary congresses of their parties, which will be held this year, as well as current social events in Algeria and Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav delegation, which is led by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee was also received by Rabah Bitat, president of the National People's Assembly of Algeria. There was an exchange of views on constitutional and other political changes in both countries. There was special discussion about the preparations for the ninth non-aligned summit in Belgrade, and other current international questions.

Kadijevic Receives Reserve Military Officers
*LD1905182489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 19 May 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 May (TANJUG)—Although developments on the international scene are in an important state of flux, and quite often appear to be positive but also to have an uncertain outcome, Yugoslavia is not threatened by any immediate external danger. This was stressed by Colonel-General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, during a reception for a delegation of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers led by Borivoje Petkov.

However, Kadijevic observed that the security of the SFRY is endangered by our disunity and by internal conflicts which are bringing into question the socialist social organization and integrity of the country, something which is shattering the initial moves to implement social reforms, and giving encouragement to enemies. [passage omitted]

Colonel-General Kadijevic stressed that in the present complex socio-economic and political situation, the importance and role of the reserve military officers is growing as is their responsibility. A key task of the organization is strengthening moral-political unity, the all-Yugoslav profile of the membership, and their competence to defend the country in a united Yugoslav defensive formation.

The federal secretary stressed that our Armed Forces are resolved and prepared to carry out their role in defending the social system and the integrity of the SFRY, a role the Federation of Reserve Military Officers of Yugoslavia also share.

Military Veterans Meet, Reject Report on Army
*LD1905214689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 19 May 89*

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 19 May (TANJUG)—We fully support the Slovene political leadership in connection with the reaffirmation of relations in the federation which ensure the equality of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia on the basis of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] conclusions. We will not depart from the fundamental AVNOJ principles and are not prepared to haggle over it. This is pointed out in the statement at the consultative meeting of veterans, such as of the presidents of the committees of the community of veterans, units and services of the national liberation Army and the Partisan detachments of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Because of certain inexact statements, imputations, and unfounded accusations about the relationship with the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) in Slovenia, the veterans are rejecting the report entitled "The Essence, Causes

and Assessments of the Attacks on the All-People's Defense (ONO) and Especially on the YPA," which the former Federal Executive Council prepared for the Federal Assembly.

We reject individual assessments on the counterrevolution in Slovenia and also disagree with the statements of individuals and groups on a so-called alternative and with the writings of some media in Slovenia, the veterans stress in their statement. We are aware, they add, that only through a free exchange of views and democratic dialogue will we be able to build "socialism suited to individuals."

The veterans also maintain that initiatives for the equality of the languages of the nations and nationalities in the YPA, for rational use of funds intended for the YPA for the opening up of the YPA and similar things cannot be termed attacks on the ONO and the YPA. [passage omitted]

The veterans are also against all those who, with hostile motives, attack the YPA. They oppose the a priori discounting of every criticism of the situation in the YPA and the initiatives for its improvement. [passage omitted]

The veterans also add that they fought for a free, democratic, and richer society in which the most important value is man; and they refuse to be included in the increasingly small circle of dogmatic, isolated societies which are based on violence. Finally, the veterans call on the veterans in party units to unite in striving for Slovene sovereignty within AVNOJ Yugoslavia and for the preservation of the values and ideals for which so many people gave their lives in the national liberation struggle.

Firm Awarded Contract With Soviet Enterprise
*LD1905094389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0726 GMT 19 May 89*

[Text] Mostar, May 19 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav enterprise Aluminij of Mostar [words indistinct] been contracted to deliver to the Soviet firm Raznoimport of Moscow 20,000 tonnes of hydrated alumina. The value of the contract, to be discharged in 1989, is put at 8.5 million dollars from its exports of aluminium and aluminium products this year, or 12 million dollars more than last year.

Aluminij, which works as part of the Energoinvest business system of Sarajevo, annually produces 350,000 tonnes of alumina and 94,000 tonnes of aluminium, most of which is processed into tins, lids, tubes, containers, etc.

Yugoslavia annually produces one million 45,000 tonnes of alumina and 300,000 tonnes of primary aluminium. Aluminium products are exported to China, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Japan, Poland, the Soviet Union, etc.

Zejnulahu Addresses Pristina Leaders, Officials
*AU2005204289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 20 May 89*

["Jusuf Zejnulahu at the Communal Committee of the Pristina League of Communists"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 20 May (TANJUG)—Truth is the most efficient way to stabilize the Kosovo situation. The truth must be told at once everywhere, and the truth is that Albanians in Yugoslavia and Serbia are equal with all peoples and nationalities, that they enjoy equal rights, that the amendments to the republican Constitution have not changed these rights in any way, and that the Albanian nationality has experienced its real and greatest affirmation in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. This is what Jusuf Zejnulahu, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], said in the talks with the leadership of the League of Communists [LC] and other organizations and bodies of the Pristina Commune.

The highest officials of the Pristina Commune told Zejnulahu that the political activity carried out in this commune to settle things down after the brutal assault by the Albanian nationalists and separatists on the system and the social setup in Yugoslavia is characterized by the resoluteness of the differentiation of everybody who contributed to the situation. This action is being carried out with difficulty and with great resistance on the part of the people who are most responsible for the repeated counterrevolution. It was said that such people still hold many key posts in the political, cultural, and economic life and until they are removed, one cannot count on a broadening of the joint front of the struggle.

Taking part in the talks, Jusuf Zejnulahu rejected malicious claims that accounts are allegedly being settled with cadres and the intelligentsia at the moment and that the differentiation has encompassed almost the entire Albanian nationality. These assertions are a maneuver on the part of the nationalists. They have accomplished their own differentiation because they attacked Yugoslavia with the view of destroying it. We must find out who was involved in the latest counterrevolution and remove such people because they will continue to perpetrate evil which will have grave consequences. We are living during revolutionary times and settling accounts with counterrevolutionary forces who have attacked the most glorious achievements of our revolution, Zejnulahu said.

Albanians, he pointed out, can no longer tolerate the activity perpetrated by nationalists and separatists and bear collective responsibility for their evil doings. It must be said that the destiny of the Albanian nationality is linked with this country and that it has no other ideals and aspirations. Its ideals, aspirations, and efforts are aimed at enjoying equality in this country and developing it together with other peoples and nationalities and thereby assert themselves, too, Zejnulahu pointed out.

He added that one must not rank the dangers of various kinds of nationalism, but rather must clearly say that Albanian nationalism and separatism are the most dangerous, because their hostile activity and results are the worst, and that is counterrevolution. Of course, no kind of nationalism should be tolerated. Serbian and Montenegrin Communists will find a way to settle accounts with their nationalism just as they have in the past.

Settling the situation in Kosovo implies the usage of ideopolitical measures of calling to account everybody who in any way contributed to the development of the counterrevolution. This time, calling people to account and the differentiation must be complete, because they have never been done properly. Albanian nationalists have made deep incursions and therefore the battle to remove them will be difficult and must be resolute. These are the times of a great turnabout and of big changes, and we must be resolute in carrying out the LCY stances and policy. After that, Zejnulahu said, a broad and comprehensive action should follow which should embrace all progressive people in order to form a joint front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and others, and to build tolerance, joint life, brotherhood, and unity. Priorities must not be mixed up, he added. There had been such attempts before and Kosovo had such experiences. Along with the political action aimed at eliminating the consequences of the counterrevolution, one must create room for economic, cultural and any other development and prospects.

Jusuf Zejnulahu pointed out that one must achieve unity in the country over Kosovo. Disunity harms everybody, but in Kosovo it is fatal. Attention should be paid to Kosovo by all, Zejnulahu said in reply to warnings voiced by Gani Jasari and Momcilo Trajkovic, president and secretary of the Pristina LC Communal Committee respectively, when they said that it has been shown at the latest session of the LCY Central Committee that Kosovo is again being used as an arena for transferring one's own problems and attaining one's own aims.

Commenting on the latest plenum, Jusuf Zejnulahu, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said that the Presidium will discuss the outcome of the session from the point of view of its own responsibility and obligations. He recalled that the course and outcome of the session by no means diminishes the relationship of the LC and the Central Committee with Kosovo, something which can be seen in the direct tasks that were adopted at the session as working conclusions.

Emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins Continues
*LD2205140689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Pristina, 22 May (TANJUG)—At a meeting of the commission of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo for monitoring the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, attention was drawn to resistance, opportunism, and

irresponsible behavior in the implementation of this important document. It was pointed out once again that the basic aim of this program—the halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and their more rapid return—is not being implemented. As an illustration, it was reported that in the first 3 months of this year a total of 569 members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality emigrated from Kosovo. Of these, 49 families with 154 members left their homes. The assembly of the SAP of Kosovo, it has been announced, will discuss this problem in 2 days.

Montenegrin Internal Affairs Officials Dismissed
LD1805152189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 18 May 89

[Excerpt] Titograd, 18 May (TANJUG)—At the proposal of Pavel Bulatovic, republican secretary for internal affairs, the Executive Council of the Montenegrin Assembly dismissed from duty five officials of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs today.

Vladimir Kekovic, head of the State Security Service, and Husnija Redzepagic, head of the public security, were dismissed from the post of undersecretary in the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Bozidar Radonjic, Andrija Raicevic, and Mirko Radovic, assistant secretaries of the republican secretary for internal affairs, were dismissed from their posts.

Dismissal of the officials of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, as stated, was necessitated by the principle of cadre renewal in that body and the principle of work and political differentiation in accordance with demand of the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the Montenegrin League of Communists, and by the principle of rationalization of republican administrative bodies. [passage omitted]

Smole Criticizes Slovene Separatist Tendencies
LD1905220689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2008 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Ljubljana, May 19 (TANJUG)—Talks about a sovereign Slovenia, which have as of recently been spreading in part of the public here, were qualified by president of the socialist alliance of this Yugoslav republic as primitivism and provincialism which directly aids the unitarian and centralist forces in the country.

Participating in today's session of the press council of the Presidency of the largest socio-political organization in Yugoslavia's most developed republic, President of the Socialist Alliance Jozе Smole underscored that if anything could harm Slovenia, then it would be separatist tendencies.

Smole warned that certain separatists tendencies were active in Slovenia and that the anti-Army, anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav feelings were increasing.

Smole maintains that such feelings were caused by the court procedure against the four persons accused of revealing a military secret. Part of the Slovenian public believes that the court procedure was trumped up and represents a step towards the militarization of the country.

Smole included the attacks on the part of the 1974 Constitution dealing with the equality of nations and nationalities, the efforts to minimize the principle of consensus, and the social and economic situation in the country, into the causes which brought about such tendencies. The council session forwarded the initiative to set up an independent news agency, to organize a Slovenian press center and to publish an informative-political herald in Serbo-Croatian which would be distributed throughout Yugoslavia.

Slovenes make up eight percent of Yugoslavia's 23.5 million population. Serbo-Croat is spoken by 17 million Yugoslavs.

The session participants interpreted the articles of part of the Yugoslav press as "foul play," which is most often directed against Slovenia.

It was noted that public heralds were in some environments the marked transmission of the official policy and that this was the reason for the medium war which was accompanying the political struggles in the country.

It was said at the session today that the information area in Yugoslavia would expand over the next few months when the programs of Slovene TV channels will be received on the territory of the Belgrade and Sarajevo TV, while Slovenes will be able to watch the Belgrade and Sarajevo TV programs in their republic.

Slovene Assembly on Inter-Nationality Hostility
LD2105160889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1422 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Lendava, May 21 (TANJUG)—"We believe that coercion and repression, special or emergency measures, the limiting of human rights and inequality of any nation or nationality cannot be the lasting basis for living together," president of the Assembly of Slovenia Miran Potrc said today.

Speaking in Lendava, a town close to the Hungarian border, at a ceremony marking the 30th anniversary of the introduction of bilingual Slovenian-Hungarian schooling, Potrc stressed the need for even greater inclusion of members of Hungarian and Italian nationalities in the Slovenian Assembly at all levels. He noted that the "majority nation can never do enough for the equality and development of nationalities."

Potrc made a parallel with Kosovo Province, where he said the policy "which has not yielded adequate results for 40 years" should be reviewed, since it has not secured a lasting basis for removing inter-nationality hostility.

Radio Questions Party Integrity, Survivability

*AU1805205289 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 May 89*

[Text] The day has been rainy and cloudy, changeable, and political life has been affected by the preceding day and by the question of what is happening with our highest party leadership. How could it happen that after

a 15-hour discussion, the members of the Central Committee did not adopt the operative tasks for activities in Kosovo, because of a lack of quorum?

Most of the information media conclude unanimously: scandal and shame. However, matters are even more serious than this. First, as regards Kosovo, is this not a picture of the attitude of a part of the highest party leadership toward the counterrevolution in the province? And second, on the basis of the epilogue to the session last night, can one not say that the League of Communists is losing the battle on the national basis, or perhaps it has lost it?

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